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For further East Berlin Reportage on the 11th NDPD Congress held in Leipzig 21-22 April 1977 see FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, Nos 77, 78 and 79 of 21, 22 and 25 April 1977. For related information see JPRS 68886, 6 April 1977, No 1375, pp 107-110 and JPRS 68982, 22 April 1977, No 1381.

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EAST GERMANY

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY HOLDS 11TH CONGRESS 21-22 APRIL

Report on 21 April Opening

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Apr 77 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Leipzig. The 11th Congress of our National Democratic Party of Germany was opened yesterday morning in Leipzig in an atmosphere of certainty about the future and action readiness within the Alliance. The deliberations of our party's highest forum, in the festively decorated meeting place, were overshadowed by the great social movement aimed at the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the SED and the preparation of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the event of the century, which began a new page in the history of mankind. The trend-setting statements in the report of our party chairman, Professor Dr. Heinrich Homann, dealing with the tasks of the National Democratic Party of Germany in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society in the GDR, was confirmed by the delegates with prolonged ovations. The audience particularly cordially welcomed a delegation from the SED Central Committee under the direction of professor Albert Norden, member of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary, who assumed the place of honor at the head table. The delegates addressed friendly welcoming remarks also to other honored guests. Through unanimously adopted greetings to Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, the party congress expressed our party's firm and cordial bonds with the leading force in our society and its first representative.

The discussion on the report and the documents at hand began in the afternoon. It was characterized by the growing social usefulness of party work and by the passionate commitment toward the all-around strengthening of socialism.

Leipzig, the meeting place of our party congress, 0900. The delegates and the guest delegates stood up and welcomed with cordial applause our party chairman, Professor Dr. Heinrich Homann who, together with Professor Albert Norden and the members of our party leadership, took their places at the head table. The congress leader, party friend Wolfgang Roesser, member of the Party Executive Committee and secretary of the Main Committee, stepped to the microphone: "By direction of the Main Committee, I hereby declare the 11th Congress of our National Democratic Party of Germany to be open!"

Amid the applause of the delegates, he welcomed in cordial solidarity the delegation from the SED Central Committee under the direction of Professor Albert Norden, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, and warmly welcomed the guest of honor: the chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany] and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, Ernst Goldenbaum; the chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, Dr Manfred Gerlach; the deputy chairman of the CDU, Max Sefrin; the deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of material economy, SED Central Committee member Wolfgang Rauchfuss; the vice chairman of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, SED Central Committee candidate Werner Kirchhoff; member of the Presidium and secretary of the Federation Executive of the FDGB, Margarete Mueller; the chairperson of the DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany], member of the GDR Council of State and SED Central Committee member Ilse Thiele; member of the Bureau and secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ, Guenter Schneider; the secretary general of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, SED Central Committee membership candidate Kurt Thieme; the deputy chairman of the Society for Sports and Technology, Colonel Heinz Ehritt; the chairman of the GDR Peace Council, Professor Dr. Guenter Drefahl; Presidium member, Federation secretary of the GDR Cultural League, Bernd Lohaus; the vice president of URANIA, Walter Berthold; the vice president of the DRK [German Red Cross], Winfried van Treek; the vice president of the DTSB [German Gymnastics and Sports Federation], Johannes Rech; the chief of the press office attached to the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Dr. Kurt Blecha; the chairman of the association of GDR Journalists, Harry Czepuck; the second secretary of the Leipzig SED bezirk directorate, Helmut Hackenberg; the deputy chairman of the Leipzig bezirk Council, Guenter Bitterlich; the chairman of the Leipzig bezirk Committee of the National Front of the GDR, senior medical counsellor Dr Gert Meusel; the first secretary of the Leipzig SED city directorate, Kurt Knobloch; the first secretary of the Lord Mayor of the City of Leipzig, Dr. Frank Grimm.

He presented cordial greetings to all representatives of the press, radio, and television.

After the constitution of the party congress, the delegates unanimously and with hearty approval adopted the message of greetings addressed to the SED Central Committee secretary general and Council of State chairman, our friend Erich Honecker.

#### Composition of Congress Bodies

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Apr 77 p 2

[Text] Party Congress Secretariat

Professor Dr Heinrich Homann, secretariat chief; Dr Siegfried Dallmann; Manfred Flegel; Guenter Hartmann; Horst Kreter; Erhard Lonscher; Wolfgang Roesser; Rosel Walther; Dr Udo Zylla, secretariat secretary.

Party Congress Committees

Statute Commission

Dr Siegfried Dallmann, Party Executive Committee member and Main Committee secretary, Commission chairman.

Elisabeth Erdmann, reporter for teacher training attached to the Council of Genthin Kreis, chairperson of the Genthin Kreis Association.

Hildegard Heinecke, kreis secretary, Koenigs Wusterhausen Kreis Association.

Guenter Maehl, chairman, "pipe equipment" PGH [Artisan Producer Cooperative] Berlin-Pankow, member of the Main Committee, chairman of the Berlin-Pankow Kreis Association.

Dr Wolfram Meischner, college instructor, Psychology Section, Karl-Marx University, Leipzig, chairman, Leipzig-City Kreis Association.

Professor Dr Manfred Mueller, professor, Academy of Government and Law of the GDR, Potsdam-Babelsberg, Leipzig Bezirk Executive Committee member.

Dr Artur Pommerenke, member, Main Committee; chairman, Rostock Bezirk Association.

Max Schneider, graduate political scientist, Main Committee member.

Guenter Wald, senior river master, Schwerin Bezirk, and deputy director, Coastal Water Economy Directorate, Schwerin-City Kreis Association chairman.

Dolores Mai, commission secretary.

Credentials Committee

Ilse Rodenberg, Party Executive Committee Member, committee chairperson.

Georg Altkuckatz, deputy chairman, Halle Bezirk Council for Trade and Supply, Halle Bezirk Executive Committee Secretariat member.

Marianne Boehm, Main Committee member, Cottbus-City Kreis Association, kreis secretary.

Horst Jaehnke, self-employed master craftsman, Lychen, Templin Kreis, Neubrandenburg Bezirk Executive Committee member.

Dr Gerda Reichelt, physician, enterprise polyclinic, Cottbus Textile Combine, Cottbus Bezirk Association Bezirk Party Control Commission member.

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Siegfried Schoop, retail merchant with commission trade contract in Hohndorf, Stollberg Kreis, Hohndorf Local Association chairman.

Hans-Juergen Winter, head, Cooperative Department, Crop Production, Schoenhausen/Elbe, Havelberg Kreis Executive Committee member.

Gerhard Schulz, committee secretary.

Election Committee

Professor Dr Manfred Muehlmann, professor, Law Section, Karl-Marx University, Leipzig, Main Committee member, committee chairman.

Kurt Bauer, department head, Chamber of Crafts, Suhl Bezirk, Suhl Kreis Association chairman.

Hans Juergen Heiner, control station chief, Central Testing and Development Agency for Transportation, Kirchmoeser, chairman, Brandenburg-City Kreis Association.

Horst Heinrich, chairman, "Aufbau" PGH, Delitzsch, member, Leipzig Bezirk Executive Committee Secretariat.

Ulrike Jereschinski, degree candidate, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences GDR, chairperson, Residential Area Association in Gotha.

Rudi Kussmann, chemistry instructor, expanded high school, Templin, chairman, Templin Kreis Association.

Wilfried Lorenz, legal advisor, Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Directorate of the GDR State Bank, chairman, Karl-Marx-Stadt Kreis Association.

Kaete Naguschewski, education assistant, House of the Teacher, Berlin, member, Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee Secretariat.

Dr. Rudolf Porschitz, medical director, Kreis Hospital and Kreis Polyclinic, Eberswalde, chairman, Eberswalde Kreis Association.

Dr. Roland Rabeneck, sector chief for training and education, Dresden Bezirk Council, chairman, Dresden-State Kreis Association.

Kurt Schroeder, member, Gera Bezirk Council for Recreation, member, Gera Bezirk Executive Committee Secretariat.

Gottfried Torbicki, plant manager, VEB Boat Building Eikboom Rostock, member, Rostock Bezirk Executive Committee Secretariat.

Dr Horst Vasel, scientific assistant and study team leader, Plant Breeding Institute, Guelzow/Guestrow, Guestrow Kreis Executive Committee Secretariat.

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Gerhard Krause, committee secretary.

Editorial Committee

Guenter Hartmann, member, Party Executive Committee and secretary, Main Committee, committee chairman.

Karl Blau, member, Party Executive Committee, chairman, Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Association.

Fred Dumke, member, main committee, director, Waldsieversdorf Central Party School.

Otto Goetze, chairman, "Ausbau" PGH, Merseburg, member, Main Committee, chairman, Merseburg Kreis Association.

Heinz Hofmann, writer and critic, Main Committee member.

Steffi Kirste, member, Main Committee, Goerlitz Kreis Association kreis secretary.

Horst Kreter, member, Party Executive Committee, and member, Main Committee Secretariat, chief editor, NATIONAL-ZEITUNG.

Professor Dr Horst Lengsfeld, professor, Education Section, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University, Greifswald, Main Committee member.

Dr. Bernd Uhlmann, committee secretary.

#### SED Greetings to Congress

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Apr 77 p 1

Dear Friends and Guests:

In the name of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and in my own name I want to offer you, the delegates and guests at the 11th Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany, cordial greetings with friendly solidarity and I want to wish you every success in your deliberations.

As part of the grandiose, creative atmosphere and movement throughout our land, to carry out the resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress, which I aimed at the well being of the workers, the members of the National Democratic Party of Germany are also struggling with great resolution and action readiness for the further ascent of our socialist German Democratic Republic, in brotherly bonds with the Soviet Union and the other countries of our socialist community.

The SED Central Committee wants to express its high esteem for the members of your party who work side by side with the working class toward

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the all-around strengthening of our socialist fatherland through impressive initiatives and achievements with a sense of responsibility within the Alliance policy and with socialist state consciousness.

The friendly relationship toward the working class and toward the Soviet Union, which is deeply rooted in your party, has always been for you a guiding star for activities for the fatherland and opened up to you the world-changing force of socialist internationalism.

The change ushered in by the glorious victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler fascism in the history of our people was of fundamental significance for the development of the might and authority of our socialist State which is the work of the working class and its social and political allies. Quite a few members of your party, through their own bitter experience with nationalist demagogic and unbridled aggressiveness of imperialism, came to see the realities of our time. In the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, in the Soviet Union they recognized forces which, through the ideas of peace, of social justice, and of humanism, open up the gates to a new life for all members of society.

Your party's approval of the goals of the Ninth Congress of the SED was clearly confirmed particularly in the course of the preparation of your 11th Party Congress in the form of agreement through deeds. You described the 1976-1980 five-year plan as an obligatory fighting program of Alliance-policy testing also for your party. The effort toward the accomplishment of the primary mission, in terms of its unity of economic and social policy, when viewed in this fashion, is highly beneficial to all classes and strata of our people.

The members of the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] are doing their civic duty both by participating in socialist competition in all sectors of industry and agriculture and through the intensification of our national economy by means of the consistent application of scientific-technological progress.

Your party is making an effective contribution by urging craftsmen and tradesmen, who belong to your party or who are close to it, to contribute to the better satisfaction of the needs of our people by improving quality and expanding the scope of repair and service functions.

Your responsible work within the National Front and in the "beautify our cities and communities--pitch in!" competition expresses your high degree of social coresponsibility. In this way you are participating in the further development of our socialist democracy together with all political forces of our land, in this way you are helping fashion the socialist way of life and in this way you are working for the consolidation of our people's political-moral unity.

Together we walk toward the 60th recurrence of the main event of our epoch--the Great Socialist October Revolution.

Our bonds with the land of Lenin proves that the GDR is also ambitiously moving ahead on the path charted by the Great October. We also view your party's work against the background of the teachings and general principles of experience that are connected with the October Revolution. In brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, in close community with all those to whom peace and socialism are dear, we will spare no effort to secure a lasting and just peace on earth. This way demands constant combat readiness against any aggressive machinations by imperialist forces, their anticomunism and nationalism. Our policy is aimed at the further implementation of peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems, also with regard to the imperialist FRG.

We are convinced that the results of your 11th Party Congress will trigger new initiatives and activities among the NDPD members. Through tried and proven comradely and fruitful collaboration, we are committing our full strength for the expansion of the developed socialist society.

Together with the parties and mass organizations, united in the Democratic Bloc, with all forces active in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic, we will in the future also struggle for the accomplishment of the great and beautiful tasks adopted at the Ninth SED Congress.

We wish you every success on your 11th Party Congress and we want to wish all members and functionaries good health and a life of fulfillment.

With socialist greetings,

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, E. Honecker, secretary general.

NDPD Greetings to Honecker

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Apr 77 pp 1,2

[Text] The Secretary General  
Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany  
Chairman, Council of State,  
German Democratic Republic  
Erich Honecker  
Berlin

Dear Friend Erich Honecker!

The delegates to the 11th Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany greet you and all members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in cordial solidarity.

We are very happy to accept the greetings from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to our party congress. The evaluation of our work and our contribution to the Alliance above all is a

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challenge to us to record new achievements for the all-around strengthening of socialism.

Our party congress takes place in the broad social movement of the entire working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party for the purpose of implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Its future-determining tasks are a criterion of their social actions for the members of the National Democratic Party of Germany. From the rostrum of our 11th Party Congress, we declare: steadily continuing its way and its tradition, our National Democratic Party of Germany will prove to be the reliable alliance partner of the working class and its party also during the new phase of social development in the German Democratic Republic; it will be tirelessly active to achieve the blossoming and thriving of our socialist fatherland, to implement the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and to promote friendship with the other states of our socialist community. Nothing and nobody will deter us from that road.

The might of the working class and the alliance of all workers form an inseparable unit. The lawfully growing leadership role of the party of the working class presents us Alliance partners with great possibilities for the implementation of far-reaching coresponsibility. We consider our efforts toward the accomplishment of the tasks of the five-year plan, toward the further implementation of the successful course of the primary mission, in its unity of economic and social policy, to represent our Alliance-policy fighting program which is the most important field of civic testing of each and every member of our party. It is especially also our party friends among the craftsmen and tradesmen who are in the service of the primary mission. The ever better satisfaction of the needs of the population in terms of repairs and services and direct supply functions is their answer to the magnanimous promotion measures adopted by the Government of our German Democratic Republic.

The ever advancing agreement of the interests of the allies with those of the working class constitutes the foundation for our working people's political-moral unity. We consolidate that unity by promoting the process of approach among the classes and strata on the grounds of the ideals of the working class through the development of socialist state consciousness. That is the essential content of our party's ideological work with all members.

Realizing the generally applicable teachings of the Great October, we want to prepare for the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution--the day of festivities and celebrations for all peace-loving and progressive mankind--through deeds in support of socialism. We know this: the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm anchoring of the GDR within the Community of Socialist States is the foundation of all the successes of our State in the domestic and foreign policy fields.

We, the members of the National Democratic Party of Germany, are fully aware that we can also continue to help secure these successes through good professional and effective social efforts.

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With all our might we thus come out in support of the consistent and constructive, coordinated foreign policy of our GDR, for the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, for peace, detente, international security, and disarmament.

Honored friend Erich Honecker!

Our German Democratic Republic became what it is today under the leadership of the working class and its party as an achievement of men of all classes and strata of our people: a state with high international prestige where social comfort, humaneness, and liberty have been implemented and where every citizen has a secure future.

Our love and our entire strength are devoted to this, our socialist fatherland.

Our sincere thanks go to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, its Central Committee, and you, personally.

We appreciate your untiring work for the welfare of the entire working people, your great contribution to strengthening the alliance of all forces of the National Front. We include in our hearty greetings the best wishes for further successes.

The delegates to the 11th Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany.

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EAST GERMANY

PARTY LEADER HOMANN GIVES EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Apr 77 pp 3-10

[Report by Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, NDPD Executive Committee Chairman, at 21 April session of 11th NDPD Congress in Leipzig: "The Tasks of the National Democratic Party of Germany in the Further Forming of the Developed Socialist Society in the German Democratic Republic"]

[Text] Dear Party Friends! Honored Guests!

It is a good tradition for our National Democratic Party of Germany to open its congresses with cordial greetings from the delegates to the first representative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and our German Democratic Republic. We have all the more reason to do so today. Precisely 31 years have passed, to the day, since the founding of the SED. Without its work, without its policy, without its confidence in all working classes and strata, our tried and proven alliance, the responsible and confidence-filled collaboration of the social forces of the German Democratic Republic would be unthinkable. The years since our Tenth Party Congress have enabled us to experience and witness this particularly impressively. The great goals of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are assuming living shape through the social reality of our land. Its policy serves the interests of the entire working people. It is good to work, it is good to fight, and it is good to live side by side with and under the leadership of the working class.

Our party congress is taking place in a special time. People all over the world--especially the citizens of the states of our socialist community--are making preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet Union in our day is more than ever before the sure bulwark of the struggle for peace and international security, for democracy and socialism, a bastion of confidence for all who are involved in the fight against imperialism and exploitation, against war and reaction.

So, Dear Party friends, we consider our conference here to be taking place quite within the sign of that social order which fundamentally altered the world over the past 6 decades and which has renewed the lives of many peoples and nations on four continents.

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## I. Our Agreement With the Strategic Orientation of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany--Foundation of Our Alliance Contribution to the Further Fashioning of the Developed Socialist Society in the German Democratic Republic

Dear Party Friends!

We want to discuss and adopt the tasks of our National Democratic Party of Germany in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society in the GDR. That is the goal and content of our 11th Party Congress. And so this congress is taking place against the background of our party's contribution to the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. A new phase in our Republic's social development was ushered in there. The direct relationship to the social requirements arising from that gives our deliberations their significance for the present and future of our party which is family linked in friendship with the SED.

The thing to do now is to adopt resolutions so that our party work may do justice to these new demands. That is the essence of the great responsibility of the delegates. The entire party has transferred that responsibility to us. All party units conscientiously, thoroughly, and successfully prepared themselves for our 11th Party Congress. This is why at this point we want to address our thanks to all members, to all staff members of our party, in all basic units, for the hard and not infrequently self-sacrificing work they did.

We can fall back on good experiences and important discoveries in the past way of our party, especially the successful implementation of the resolutions of our Tenth Party Congress. Our party has developed well. With greater commitment, growing force of persuasion, and increasing social benefit, it has helped make the time since the Eighth Congress of the SED the hitherto most successful in the history of the GDR. The primary mission--in terms of the unity of economic and social policy--has made the sense of socialism very specifically understandable and applicable for everybody; it has created an atmosphere in which the wise policy and creative work of the entire working people can be blended ever more closely and successfully. Ideas and energies converge and become impressive deeds. And this development is continuing; it has been growing stronger since the Ninth Congress of the SED. Our National Democratic Party of Germany is contributing to that. In such an atmosphere, our work is developing further quite noticeably; the tempo of our advance is picking up; the social benefit of our activity is becoming stronger. The orientation of our efforts toward the tried and proven political course of the primary mission has led to an upswing in our party work, such as we have never had it before.

Life in our German Democratic Republic proves day after day how much the leading role of the working class and the social coresponsibility of its allies belong together. Alliance and alliance policy belong together in the historical mission of the working class. They have the

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character of a generally valid law. They belong to the essence of our state of workers and peasants and they are an irreplaceable factor in the developed socialist society. This is precisely why comradely collaboration with the friendly parties remains a cornerstone of SED policy, as was programmatically adopted at its Ninth Party Congress. In its work, its leadership, and in the work of its secretary general, Erich Honecker, the alliance is embodied as a steady basic principle of political practice, as an essential feature of the social reality of our Republic. The tried and proven collaboration of the SED with the friendly parties and mass organizations in the Democratic Bloc and in the National Front of the GDR constitute evidence of that. For that, we want to express our sincere and cordial thanks to the SED Central Committee, to its Politburo, and to our friend Erich Honecker.

Dear Party Friends!

Firm solidarity with our socialist state of workers and peasants, undeterred confidence in the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, knowledge about the role and significance of our party in our socialist society, reliable partisan support in the class conflict with imperialism, action readiness for socialism, the advocacy of the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union, of friendship with all socialist states--these characterize our party's ideological situation. The requirement of our Tenth Party Congress--to awaken and promote the civic sense of responsibility of our members--has produced such a result that we now can see the goal of our ideological efforts in socialist state consciousness. The party's organizational strength has grown. The number of parttime functionaries has grown. Collaboration in the National Front has been expanded.

More than 85,000 citizens belong to our National Democratic Party of Germany. Party discipline has been consolidated. It proved itself in the implementation of the resolutions. The annual membership assemblies, the city bezirk, kreis, and bezirk conferences made that visible. The course of the party elections above all confirms this: our party is ideologically and organizationally prepared for the 11th Party Congress. Our members are ready for new deeds in order to help "continue to fashion the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism."

The goal and content of the social coresponsibility of our party during the coming years and decades are tied in with this strategic orientation of the Ninth Congress of our society's leading force.

Truly farreaching prospects and great development possibilities exist now for the present and future of our socialist fatherland. Against them will be measured in the future the weight and content of the contribution which the allies of the working class, such as we, will manage to make. And it should and will be a contribution which will be worthy of our party, which will correspond to its tradition, and which will fully unfold its social function. The present and the future must also be combined in a new way through the work of our party. The resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress show how, in the new phase of the development of society in our GDR, the development of the present and the

future are increasingly intertwined, how tomorrow grows out of today and can grow according to plan, because our Republic's history is being made according to the laws of our time, the epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is indeed fortunate for us that we can participate in the creation of such historical events and developments through our work with all of the political and social forces of our Republic. We have helped create that which today is the sure foundation for the further social advance of our Republic. We were able to do that because we made the alliance with the working class the foundation and the goal of our party's efforts from the very first moment on. Through our own commitment for social progress, side by side with and under the leadership of the SED, we arrived at the realization of the profound agreement between the basic interests of all workers and those of the working class, an agreement which has become the driving force for socialist development in our country.

The working class is the main political and social force of social progress and it is also the numerically strongest class. It is the carrier of political might. It is closely tied in with socialist property. It produces most of the material wealth of society as a whole. Its position in social production, its leadership through the Marxist-Leninist party enable it to lead the fight of all workers for social progress. Yes, the implementation of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in all sectors of social life and on an ever higher level, the socialist state of workers and peasants as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat--these are and remain the decisive prerequisites for the implementation of the interests of all workers of our Republic, for its brotherly bonds with the Soviet Union, for its respected place in the family of socialist states, for its active solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

These are the laws of our successful social development. This realization--the insight into the laws of motion of society--makes our members free for independent action toward the common goal; it enables them to decide expertly and to take sides. This is the foundation for our agreement with the strategic orientation of the Ninth SED Congress.

From the rostrum of our 11th Party Congress we declare:

By steadily continuing its way and its tradition, our National Democratic Party of Germany will prove to be the reliable alliance partner of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party also during the new phase of social development of the German Democratic Republic. Nothing and nobody will be able to prevent us from doing that. We are and remain a party that is on friendly terms with the SED. That determines our essence; that is and remains our political creed.

The unity of our party's two basic principles, founded nationally and internationally on our relationship with the working class enables us to act this way. The goal and content of our ideological work are always oriented by them. In this way our party today likewise is giving

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it members access to the laws of social development and is confirming them in the need for doing justice to them.

The two basic principles constitute the foundation of our party's transition. This transition is part of our motivation precisely because we are aware of the significance of our history in terms of its effect on our party's present and future.

Our National Democratic Party of Germany emerged from the antifascist-democratic revolution. With it, members of the urban middle classes, during the time of the tough class struggle for the advance of the revolution, entered the alliance of the working class and its party in a politically organized fashion. That was our intention at the time of our founding.

With our party we thus helped work against all divisive attempts by regressive forces; we helped strengthen the Democratic Bloc of parties and mass organizations for the continuing transition to the socialist revolution in our country and we thus also helped consolidate the alliance. In and with our party we lined up against nationalism and revanchism, against anticomunism and against anti-Sovietism. Those who recognized the pernicious influence of that ideology, those who liberated themselves from it, found the truth about themselves in the working class' image of history. For us and for those who joined our party, that was the way to a clear understanding of our people's past, present, and future. It was quite in keeping with our party's essence that it did not elevate any democratic current to the status of historical model. We were concerned with the attitude and deeds of patriots and democrats who, during a historically significant hour, joined the side of the working class. That is what we oriented ourselves toward. That was the important thing, that is the important thing for us always in any new pause of social development. Thus we gained access to all that is progressive in history. This is the way we will have to continue to promote historical knowledge, political activity, and an optimistic view of the future. In this way, the past and the present become the counsellor for action aimed at a secure future.

When our members became the active builders of new conditions in society, as they gathered practical experience in the alliance with the working class and became familiar with its theoretical discoveries, they also gained access to the patriotic-democratic heritage of people of their origin and to everything that is progressive in German history and especially they gained an understanding of the historical place and the historical mission of the working class, its endeavors and its goals. That is the historical context and the social-policy origin of our two basic principles. From the very beginning, they formed the political and social motives for becoming and being members of our National Democratic Party of Germany.

In underscoring this at our 11th Party Congress, we are not just going into a historical review as such. We are today likewise concerned with that which forever binds National Democrats to their party.

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Our party will be joined by the person who today feels that this is the only way he can make his social position as an ally of the working class really useful for the alliance in political terms. Through membership in our party he can make his own contributions and is thus completely involved in the process of approach among the classes and strata on the ground of the working class's ideals. Making one's own contribution to this process of promoting the people's political-moral unity means rendering even more effective the essence which is fashioned by the two basic principles, as well as the specific aspects of our party.

The essence of our party and the independence of its alliance-policy action belong together. Our own appearance in the community as a whole makes the alliance richer. The clear and definite peculiarity of each partner makes friendship genuine.

Our opponents do not like that. This is why they slander our party's character for lacking independence. They assert that independence could only mean contrast and opposition. They want to drive a wedge into our tried and proven cooperation and collaboration and that is the nucleus of their slanderous attacks. But they will have no success whatsoever. The morale of our democratic community has proved its strength and continues to prove it daily anew. The vital force of our socialist democracy rests on the firm alliance and on the leading rôle of the working class and the high sense of coresponsibility of its allies.

For us, national and democratic endeavor is always inseparably tied in with the social renewal and further development of the vital foundations of our people and our nation. That is the consequence of our turn toward the alliance under the leadership of the working class and its party. It is the expression of our love of fatherland, our profound bonds with the German Democratic Republic, in which the truly national and democratic ideals of our people are maintained and implemented.

With our party we pledge ourselves to the essence and the way of the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic. In it we find fulfilled that for which we spoke out three decades ago and for which we worked over three decades side by side with the working class and its party. The Socialist German Democratic Republic is our fatherland. Our loyalty, our love, and our deeds belong to it.

Our entire strength is devoted to the blossoming of the socialist nation in our German Democratic Republic, the approach among the socialist brother nations. That is our goal and that is what we advocate. To that we pledge ourselves once again at our 11th Party Congress. Thus our party's name is most timely and up to date.

Dear Party friends!

If we look back over our party's way, then we can certainly say by way of results: the thinking and action, characterized by the two basic principles, brought us ever closer to socialist patriotism and the internationalism of the working class. They determine the patriotic

bonds between our party members and the worker-and-peasant government in the GDR, their advocacy of socialism to begin with, their international solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces. These two basic principles are the criterion of socialist state consciousness and convinced partisanship for all of our party members.

They are and remain our programmatical basic principles. They constitute the foundation for the continuity of our party's policy in the process of the GDR's social advance. And this is why we declare:

The members of the National Democratic Party of Germany without reservation pledge themselves to the lawfully growing role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the socialist unity party of Germany, at all times and everywhere. The might of the working class, our socialist state of workers and peasants--they are the nucleus of all values and achievements of socialism in our land. Socialist patriotism and internationalism therefore are the nucleus and the consequence of the bonds with our socialist fatherland, the German Democratic Republic.

The members of the National Democratic Party of Germany with reservation pledge themselves to unalterable friendship, to a brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union. This brotherly alliance is and remains the source of strength and foundation for the development of the Socialist German Democratic Republic as a firm component of the Community of Socialist States. Socialist patriotism and internationalism therefore are the nucleus and consequence of our bonds with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, with all progressive forces throughout the world.

These are the foundations of our action and all our decisions, the criteria for our partisan support for socialism in the class conflict with imperialism, the political orientation for our active participation in the historical processes which determine the face of our time.

## II. Worldwide Triumph of Socialism Confirms and Strengthens Members of National Democratic Party of Germany in Their Pledge to the Further Fashioning of the Developed Socialist Society in Our Land.

Dear Party Friends!

Sixty years have passed since the epochal and world historical victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution. How much indeed did the face of the world change after that epoch-making event. Today, the lives of millions of people on continents are fashioned by that social system which was born in October 1917 on 1/6 of our globe. Socialism has placed the desire of the people for life amid peace, freedom, and progress on the agenda of world political events and has made it a social reality. It has shown mankind the way to true humanity. The might of the working class, the alliance of all workers, liberation from exploitation and oppression, equal rights for peoples and nations--all of this came true under socialism; 60 years ago, Russia's working class for the first time achieved what many generations had been striving for so long. There is

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no doubt: the 20th century will go down in the pages of history as the century of socialism!

The truth, which we too, want to make perfectly clear during this jubilee year, is this: since the Great October Socialist Revolution, socialism has been on the historical offensive. During those 6 decades, imperialism made every effort and tried with all the might left to it to regain the historical initiative.

It failed to achieve that; not with allied intervention and fascist aggression against the first socialist state on earth; not with a political-diplomatic blockade and undisguised threats against the German worker-and-peasant government; not with ideological subversion and creeping counterrevolution. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the main event of our century which ushered in a new epoch of development for all mankind.

The victory of the Soviet armies over the fascist aggressor brought our people freedom and paved the way for fundamental changes in Europe and all over the world.

The international socialist system sprang up--as the greatest achievement of progressive mankind--and powerfully developed its might. Something that began in October 1917 continued through difficult and successful struggle and prevailed practically over continents all the way to Hanoi and Havana. The October Revolution ushered in a new epoch; the generally valid lessons learned during October turned out to be the tried and proven foundation for the construction of the new order of socialism which is worthy of man.

During the 60th year after the Great October Socialist Revolution, this truth is even more obvious: mankind needs peace and socialism for its own development and for the implementation of its basic rights. It is the only alternative to historically outdated capitalism which is doomed to perdition.

During the last third of our century, the question as to the future of mankind has been answered clearly and definitively. The future belongs to socialism and we belong by the side and under the leadership of the working class and its party, in our Socialist German Democratic Republic, to those who consciously fashion that future and who march into the future with equal optimism and partisanship.

In brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union, as an inseparable part of the Community of Socialist States, our Republic irrevocably belongs to that world where--for the sake of the dignity and well being of man--the ideas and ideals of Great October have taken on living form through the implementation of the historical mission and the political might of the working class.

More than 20 working citizens are parttime deputies for the interest of the people in our Community of States, helping in the further unfolding of socialist democracy. Men from all working classes and strata are

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involved in socialist competition in honor of Great October. Their inner agreement with socialism is the thing that enables them to achieve ever more significant results for its all-around strengthening.

Each day, three new industrial facilities are placed in operation in the states of the socialist community. Since 1971, 7 million citizens of our socialist brother countries have moved into new apartments. One out of every two scientists on earth lives in the countries of the CEMA; one out of every three lives in the Soviet Union--a tremendous potential for scientific-technological progress.

Thus, the meaning of socialism--doing everything for the welfare of the working class and the entire working people--is daily infused with life for millions of people and in this way is the profound and real humanism of the socialist social system fulfilled in the life of each and every one of us. Yes, in and with our GDR, we are at the side and on the road of the victors of history. And the members of our National Democratic Party of Germany are determined to continue to walk this way under the leadership of the party of the working class. Being in agreement with the character of our epoch means living on the level of the requirements of our time.

It was the creative application of the teachings of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the experiences of the CPSU to the concrete national and historical conditions of our country, through the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which essentially brought about the internationally regarded rise of our Socialist Republic; it was the alliance with the land of Lenin which preserved our German Democratic Republic from the attacks and excesses of imperialist circles, especially in the FRG. Yes, the Soviet Union is the main force for the Community of Socialist States; its peoples bear the main burden for the reliable defense of socialism which is an indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of the rights of all peoples.

For the past 60 years, the Soviet people have been taking the lead on the way of socialist and communist construction with their battle-tested internationalist attitude, with their heroism, with their outstanding achievements and their readiness to make sacrifices. We say with profound satisfaction, with feelings of gratitude for the citizens of the Soviet Union that the successful erection and development of socialist society in the GDR, that the blossoming and thriving of the German Democratic Republic were always and will always be inseparably connected with the comradely support, the helping hand, the brotherly advice of the USSR.

The further the Soviet Union advances on the road to communism, the more will the other socialist countries also make headway in fashioning the socialist society, the more clearly does the general validity of the treasure of experience of the Soviet Union stand out. In the land of Lenin, the socialist social system has reached its hitherto greatest maturity; this is where outstanding results were achieved in the creation of communism's material-technical base. Thus, the Soviet Union is and remains the pioneer of humanity's progress.

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From the practical experience of our work and our lives in the GDR grows our certainty: the guarantee of assured advance under socialism, the guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of our State, as well as its reliable protection resides in the firm anchoring of the GDR in the community of socialist states, in indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union. This is why we confirm the following in word and deed during the year of the 60th recurrence of the Great October Socialist Revolution: the attitude of our party's members toward the Soviet Union is and remains the touchstone for the genuineness and depth of socialist state consciousness, of the bonds with our socialist fatherland and socialism in general.

This creed is in keeping with the essence and way of our party. We always believed that the promotion of the ideas and the practice of firm friendship and all-around collaboration with the land of Lenin is a first-ranking concern, a fundamental task of our political-ideological endeavor. Our viewpoint today is more than ever before based on the realization, yes, on the impressive experience of the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace and international security in the course of the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, its rank in the worldwide revolutionary process, its outstanding role in the struggle for a change from Cold War toward detente. The internationalist solidarity of the Soviet peoples can be felt all over the world. It gives the fighters of the anti-imperialist movement courage and strength. It helps achieve new successes in the fight for peace and social progress.

In recent years, the brotherly alliance between the GDR and the USSR achieved a new quality on this foundation which is anchored in the 7 October 1975 Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance Treaty just as much as in the socialist Constitution of the GDR and in the program of the SED. In all fields of our life, collaboration with the Soviet Union has become closer, more intensive, more manyfold, and more productive. And, one year after the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Ninth Congress of the SED, it is clearer than ever before that this brotherly alliance is an almost inexhaustible source of strength in the further approach among our states and peoples, in the solution of the great, common tasks which point far into the future. Thus we have been able to gather valuable and rich experiences in this alliance of friendship from its active and conscious promotion. And so it will continue to be in the future!

The work of our party friends is increasingly in one way or another tied to tasks which our countries, with their brotherly bonds, and which the states of the socialist community are carrying out through close collaboration. That applies above all to socialist economic integration. Here we have the material foundation for the all-around strengthening and increasing approach of the states of our socialist community; on the way to the great, common national economic goals, the economic strength of the Soviet Union is likewise decisive; here we have the reliable guarantee that even complicated questions and problems can be mastered. Close collaboration in science and production--permeated by the principles of the CEMA complex program--is assuming ever larger dimensions. It is increasingly becoming a decisive basic condition for steady, planned development--in the GDR and in all socialist countries.

On the way of socialist economic integration, the economic potential of the CEMA community grows year after year and its international force of attraction becomes stronger; its weight in the international class conflict with imperialism also grows. Thanks to their steady, crisis-free economic growth, the CEMA countries were able further to develop their position as the world's biggest and most dynamic economic region.

During the 1971-1975 five-year plan, the CEMA countries achieved their hitherto greatest superiority in terms of growth rate over the past 25 years.

During the past five-year plan, the CEMA member countries were able to increase their national income by a total of 36 percent and the volume of their industrial output by 45%. The foreign trade volume between CEMA countries more than doubled during those 5 years. This positive development continued also in 1976. The national income of the countries of the CEMA community went up 5.5 percent and industrial output rose 6 percent.

After several years of stagnation and production decline, the capitalist industrial countries on the other hand in 1976 are roughly again attaining the level of industrial output of 1973. In terms of the volume of industrial and farm output, the EEC countries are already being significantly overtaken on such important indexes as, for example, electric energy, coal, steel, mineral fertilizer, and cement.

With a steel output of 199 million tons last year, the share of the CEMA countries out of world steel production rose from 26.2 percent in 1970 to 29.4 percent in 1976. In 1976, the Soviet Union already produced 29 million tons more steel than did the United States. In our community, which accounts for about 10 percent of the world's population, we are producing, among other things, 20 percent of the world's meat output, 25 percent of the sugar output, and 30 percent of the butter output.

Between 1976 and 1980 we will procure from the Soviet Union, among other things, 88.2 million tons of petroleum, 21.6 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 15.9 million tons of rolled steel, and 375,000 tons of cellulose. Our requirement for primary equipment items for thermal and nuclear powerplants, big diesel locomotives, heavy tractors, streetcars, and buses will be met to a great degree through deliveries from the Soviet Union or other CEMA countries. Through the great industrial capacity of our national economy we, in turn, contribute to strengthening the material-technical base of the friendly socialist countries.

We are managing ever more comprehensively and effectively to speed up scientific-technological progress through the development of research cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. Scientists, engineers, and workers from the Soviet Union and the GDR achieved outstanding results in the development of the "Polymer 50" production method for high-pressure polyethylene and in the multispectral camera. Attaining several such internationally recognized top-level results and quickly transposing them into production is a priority task of our combined efforts.

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Between 1976 and 1980, more than 1,500 research institutes of the member states and the SFRJ [Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia] will work on the solution of more than 4,000 scientific-technical problems within the framework of bilateral and multilateral relations.

The in-depth development of specialization and production cooperation assumes special significance in connection with the stepped-up utilization of socialist economic integration for the intensification of our national economy. It is aimed at more comprehensively meeting requirements and increasing effectiveness through larger series lots and the introduction of modern technologies. Exports and imports of specialized products are to be more than doubled in the course of this five-year plan.

Fundamental task complexes were tackled through the drafting of long-term target programs, such as, for example, the long-range guarantee of raw material and fuel supply for the CEMA community as well as meeting the need for cereals and staple foods on whose solution the further economic and social advance of each and every member country and of the socialist community as a whole depends decisively. Socialist economic integration is not the simple addition of the capacity of national economies but rather the result of the steadily growing degree of interlocking development of the scientific and production volume of all CEMA countries, thus multiplying our strength. This points up the inseparable connection between the international utilization of the advances and driving forces of socialism and the common goal of the policy and the primary mission of further improving the material and cultural living standards of the workers.

The unity and compactness of the socialist community of states today have a stable foundation. They continue to develop successfully last but not least within the political and military organization of the Warsaw Pact. Thus grow the might and force of real socialism; thus do the countries of the socialist community resolutely and compactly work for peace and social progress throughout the world.

Dear Party Friends!

Five years has passed since our Tenth Party Congress. In historical terms, this is certainly a very short span of time. But how weighty were the international political events of those years, how great were the results of the struggle of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community for peace and international security. Socialism has attained a considerable increase in its might and strength and has been able to bring about profound changes in the international situation. The struggle of the communist parties and the working class in the capitalist countries reveals growing political and social force. The strength of the international socialist system, in close collaboration with the other revolutionary main streams of our time, the worker movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements, determines the course of international events and has further restricted the action leeway of imperialism in spite of bitter resistance and has made peace more secure.

Yes, these were good years, years of hard struggle and significant victories for socialism. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea have been victorious; they have put an end to imperialist aggression and they can now peacefully walk the way of socialism. In spite of 500,000 soldiers and billions of tons of bombs, the strongest imperialist power was unable to defeat the heroically fighting people of Vietnam and to stop the advance of progress. The brutal aggression, the open military adventure against socialism and the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia was a miserable flop. The solidarity of the socialist states proved to be a truly unending and invincible force.

Five years ago, at our Tenth Party Congress, we, the members of the National Democratic Party of Germany, gave our word that we would stand firmly and unshakably by the side of our Vietnamese friends in beating off imperialist aggression. Today, at our 11th Party Congress, we once again want to congratulate the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea on their victory and we want to express our solidarity with their self-sacrificing and hard work in their socialist construction effort.

During these years also the political blockade of American imperialism against revolutionary Cuba, America's first socialist state, collapsed; just 50 miles from the citadel of imperialism, the Cuban people successfully walks toward its happy future on the road of socialism.

The peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique have won their freedom from the colonial yoke and, like a growing number of other African countries, are striving for socialist development.

Fascist dictatorships in Greece and Portugal were overthrown. And after having been outlawed for almost 40 years, democratic parties had to be legalized in Spain as a result of the pressure of the masses, such as the Communist Party, just recently.

The national liberation movements in the southern part of Africa have come out in the fight against the last bastions of colonialism.

Willpower and might deriving from worldwide solidarity forced the release of Luis Corvalan from the prisons of the fascist Pinochet regime.

Historically significant changes took place on the European Continent. As a result of the conclusion of the European treaties and Helsinki, it has been possible to finalize boundaries obligatorily under international law.

The political-diplomatic blockade of imperialism against the GDR has collapsed. Today, the GDR is recognized worldwide and has been admitted to the UN.

Imperialism had to recognize the facts of life. Imperialism encountered the limits of its power in the form of the might of socialism, at the border of the community of socialist states. In the course of the sharp

class conflict with imperialism, socialism became the determining and moving force behind fundamental international political changes. Thus it was possible to force the change from cold war to detente. The balance of power has changed noticeably in favor of socialism in all fields and this is precisely what gives the coordinated foreign policy of the community of socialist states growing dynamism and effectiveness in the struggle for peace and international security. A historically new world situation has arisen. Thus was the historical peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress fulfilled successfully and thus was it logically developed at the 25th Party Congress; thus was the peace concept of the Eighth Congress of the SED implemented, point by point; thus did the 25th CPSU Congress and the Ninth SED Congress provide the foreign policy orientation for the materialization of the detente process and for supplementing political detente with military detente.

Dear Party Friends!

The GDR's international activities will continue heavily to emphasize the consolidation of the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and the friendly bonds with all socialist countries. The brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and the firm membership of the GDR in the community of socialist states constitute the foundation of our Republic's international prestige and influence and the basic condition for its successful participation in the international struggle for security and detente.

The profound understanding of the qualitatively new features of the international situation, the essence and goals of coordinated socialist foreign policy constitute a key problem for the ideological endeavors of our party aimed at the further promotion of partisan attitude and action corresponding to our membership. Socialism's political and ideological offensive, the tempo of international detente, the range of many international events--these create higher requirements in terms of the wealth of argumentation and the timeliness of our party events.

The partisanship of our members includes a knowledge about the world-changing might of socialism. For us, partisanship means a clear understanding of the basics. In this way we have and create clarity also on matters of detail. We will not fall for every little trick of imperialism. Our argumentation will not be confined to that narrow horizon which imperialism's media put up with ever new anticommunist slander and half-truths. We conduct the basic conflict, the dispute among systems, with imperialism and we concentrate on the crux of the matter, not the marginal phenomena. The essence of imperialism, its characteristic, anti-human attitude is what we want to expose. Partisanship in the anti-imperialist struggle means for us that we must be aware of the most profoundly humanist essence of socialism. It means strengthening socialism all around and thus securing peace and it also means winning ever new friends far beyond our country's borders.

Day after day, the peoples, the millions of individuals of our continents, can see and feel this: it is socialism which bans war and brings peace.

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Was it not the history of the class society of the past which made peacetime in Europe always a time between wars? Feudalism and capitalism have brought our continent a Seven-Years War, a Thirty-Year War, and even a Hundred-Year War and finally they plunged mankind, from Europe, into two world wars during the first half of our century. But a 30-year peace--which the peoples of Europe have been able to enjoy since their liberation from fascism--was achieved for the first time only by socialism for the European peoples in modern history. Even one of the worst representatives of those imperialist hack writers, whose main job is to sling mud at socialism, wrote years ago "that communism thrives on peace, wants peace, and triumphs in peace" in order then to add with typically imperialist antihuman hostility that this is precisely why the West must be "credibly determined to fight a war."

Socialism has been fighting for peace and security for 60 years. From the start of the Great October Socialist Revolution onward, the fight for peace and international security was at the focus of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. In 1917, the Soviet Government was the first state to join the international community which opposed imperialist war with the anti-imperialist peace struggle of the working people and elevated that to a government policy.

During the prewar years already the Soviet Union was the consistent advocate of a collective security system in Europe. Yes, even then it was the main force of peace. From the decree on peace via the Genoa Conference, the proposals in the League of Nations, the peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress, all the way to Helsinki we can trace a complicated but consistent way of the anti-imperialist class struggle; this is how socialism fought for peace and for dispute in peace. This is how the ideas and principles of peaceful coexistence prevailed. Peaceful coexistence means tough class struggle in peace and not peace in the class struggle.

Along with the further, sure advance of socialism, with the further strengthening of its force and might, its influence on international events will also become more profound and more comprehensive. The compulsion toward adaptation--which acts upon imperialism--becomes greater. The way out into military aggression is increasingly blocked. It is precisely this which makes imperialism so insidious and dangerous. Imperialism has not abandoned any of its antisocial intentions and has not sworn off one iota of its aggressive goals. Yes, certain imperialist circles have become more and more refined in their actions. But in all of the struggle that is still ahead of us, in spite of all difficulties and possible setbacks, which we may have to go through, in spite of the severity of the clash with imperialism, which has considerable economic and military potential and which is using even more cunning means and methods especially in the ideological struggle, there is one thing that is absolutely certain: the main tendency in world development is and remains the continued advance of the forces of peace and social progress. From the realization, from the understanding of socialism's historical superiority, from the knowledge that the future belongs to it, the executive committees of our basic units with conviction and in a convincing manner tackle the explanation of the many and manyfold, not infrequently contradictory events and phenomena in the class conflict.

Thus they trace the timely issues of the day back to basic issues and basic factors. Thus we do not merely come up with an answer to timely issues but, with those questions, which socialism day after day puts to imperialism about mankind's future, we are at the same time responding to the essence of current international political events in our time. Thus we are developing a keener eye for new horizons which socialism will open up for itself in peace.

Our party's members know that the struggle of the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states for the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence preserved millions of people in Europe and other continents from war and fully proves itself in international life in our time.

No other country of the world has stepped before the world public with so comprehensive, concrete, and realistic a program for the reduction and subsequent complete elimination of the danger of war as did the Soviet Union.

No other grouping of states has submitted such farreaching and constructive proposals for all of the main problems connected with the struggle for the termination of the arms race and disarmament as did the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Yes, the socialist countries are developing ever more effective initiatives which are aimed at the improvement of the political climate in the world for the sake of all peoples. Undeterred and with growing strength they steer the course of peace and international security.

Detente is above all the overcoming of the cold war, the transition to normal and equal relations between states. Detente also contains the readiness to resolve differences of opinion and disputes not with violence and threats but rather with peaceful means, around the negotiating table. Detente means a certain measure of confidence and the ability of mutually considering legitimate interests.

The essence of socialism and the primary mission of socialist foreign policy--to create the most favorable external conditions for the buildup of socialism/communism--determines the consistent advocacy of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community in support of peaceful coexistence and international security, the unity of socialism in peace, which is expressed ever more clearly in the international arena.

And so our GDR likewise believes that the elimination of war as a means for resolving disputes in relations between states having different social systems represents the most important commandment of our time, the highest principle of its foreign policy. This is why it consistently advocates the termination of the arms race pushed by NATO and this is why it is constructively working toward concrete measures of arms limitations and disarmament.

Such a policy is in the interest of all the peoples of Europe. For the success of this policy of socialism, the growth of its might and strength,

its ever-growing international influence are of decisive significance.

There is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. Realistically thinking politicians in capitalist countries realized that likewise before Helsinki. After Helsinki they could not possibly close their eyes to that.

Thus were and are the coordinated foreign policy actions of the community of socialist states successful and so did our Republic make a considerable contribution to that. This fills our party members with satisfaction but above all with the certainty that their work and their contribution to the all-around strengthening of socialism in the GDR at the same time have an effect far beyond our country's borders. Thus the successful foreign policy of the GDR and its high international prestige promote the thinking and action of our members in the sense of socialist patriotism and internationalism of the working class.

Our party friends see and understand: it is not withdrawal in the face of imperialist arrogance, it is not adjustment, not wheeling and dealing that enabled us to advance in securing peace amid the class conflict with imperialism but rather firmness on principle, straight forwardness, goal-orientation, plus flexibility.

We fully agree with that foreign policy. Yes, our party friends are more and more acting along the lines of the realization that being citizens of the GDR means proving oneself as a member of the community of socialist states, as a reliable ally of all those who fight for peace and social progress. Here we face great tasks which point to the future. In the tough class conflict with the most aggressive imperialist forces, the important thing is to develop the process of detente politically in depth and to expand it geographically. But above all the thing at issue here is its supplementation in the military sphere by a ban on armaments and by disarmament. The discontinuation of the arms race and disarmament are becoming the most important and urgent tasks of the present.

This is the meaning of the proposals submitted by the socialist countries, especially the Bucharest Conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact. NATO's initial response to this constructive offer was negative. The reaction of the imperialist military pact to similar, far-reaching proposals was no different in the past. But history teaches us this: in the long run, one will hardly be able neither categorically to reject nor further to avoid such a proposal. More and more peace-loving and progressive forces all over the world recognize the suspension of arms production and disarmament as decisive goals in the struggle of the masses for the consolidation of peace and the guarantee of lasting international security.

The military-industrial complex of the imperialist NATO states--the most severe opponents of peaceful coexistence--is not only worried about its profits but above all it is worried that detente might, through the military supplementation of the political process, be given that

foundation which can no longer be shaken. The imperialist worry about the compelling logic of the detente process, its continuation to worldwide disarmament only serve to increase the hectic response of the reactionaries. This is why the 1977 Bonn arms budget was increased to a record high of DM49.1 billion; this is why the FRG wants to expand its military influence in Western Europe further even though at the same time negotiations are in progress in Vienna--with FRG participation--on a reduction in troop strength and armaments. Yes, Bonn is trying to abuse these talks in order to increase its own weight in NATO. This is why the most aggressive imperialist circles are trying with all means to sabotage the conclusion of a SALT-II agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in order thus to undermine the development of all relations between those two countries for which the 1972-1974 agreements have created such a solid foundation. It is precisely the implementation of this agreement which is of fundamental significance for banning the danger of an atomic world war.

In the interest of international security and the further development of detente, the Soviet Union is continuing its efforts to achieve a further normalization of relations with the United States; the new administration in Washington however so far has not indicated that it is ready to do the same. On the contrary: the behavior, which is tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of the USSR and other socialist states, does not contribute to the improvement of the climate. The development of equal and mutually advantageous collaboration between the USSR and the United States however is in the interest of peace and the security of all peoples.

Regardless of all imperialist trouble-making and counterattacks, the socialist countries will continue to do their part for the consolidation and expansion of detente through its military supplementation. What has been achieved on this road was the result of paying a high price of many long years of struggle and laborious political efforts. It is entirely too valuable to have it sacrificed to the profit motive of the arms monopolies and the insane ideas of the eternal Cold Warriors. The peaceful present and future of our continent, devastated by two world wars, demand that.

We agree with the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, our friend Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev when he says: "Socialism's defense potential must be great enough so that nobody will dare disturb our peaceful life."

Through our work we will help keep socialism's defense preparedness at the high level that fully corresponds to vital interests of all peoples and especially the citizens of our socialist country and we will increase our political vigilance.

Our 11th Party Congress with all its heart greets the members of the National People's Army and all armed components, all those who are standing guard for peace for our GDR and thus also for socialism, side by side with the most battle-seasoned and strongest socialist military

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might, the victorious Soviet Army, in arms comradeship with the armies of all socialist states. We thank you, soldiers of peace! The National Democratic Party of Germany will always be at your side. Military protection for socialism is the securing of peace in action.

Dear Party Friends!

The sharp contrast between socialism's social superiority and imperialism's historical outdatedness is becoming increasingly obvious in the tough class conflict between the two systems. Here we have planned upswing, there we have pessimistic views and prospects. Here we have confidence in the future, over there we have economic, intellectual, and moral decay. Two worlds, two ways and thus freedom, democracy, and humaneness can never have the same significance in the policies of the two systems.

The still considerable economic potential and significant scientific-technological achievements do not change anything on the fact that imperialism is a world of decline and antihumanity, a world of massive violation of human dignity and human rights. In 1976, 250 million people in the nonsocialist countries--according to statistics--were underemployed; 50 millions were completely unemployed; the FRG alone has 1.2 million unemployed; 400,000 of them are young people whom capitalism denies the right to work from the very beginning. A research institute observed rather laconically: "They are ashamed of their neighbors; they hardly ever dare go out of the house; they feel superfluous and are even thinking of suicide." At every breath, every 2 seconds, a child dies of hunger in the world with imperialism being responsible for that. This is imperialism--unchanged in its essence and unvarnished in terms of its effect on human dignity.

All of the internal and external contradictions of imperialism have become worse; the general crisis has become intertwined with the cyclical crisis of capitalism to create extreme and lasting economic weakness. That caused a British bourgeois historian to complain: "There is no way out within the framework of the existing system." The victims of that stagnation and deformation, that inevitable decline of the monopoly capitalist system, are millions of workers. In 1976, the cost of living in the developed capitalist countries went up by an average of 8.5 percent. Along with the decline in real wages there is a deterioration in the standard of living even for those people who still have jobs. "Poverty is once again with us," writes a West German news magazine on the social and economic situation in the FRG. And the Federal President had to agree: "The loss of the joy of living is certainly also connected with the fact that the people no longer know how things are going to go on." In this situation, helplessness and insecurity spread in the ruling circles as to how the crisis is to be mastered and how one can counter the growing influence of socialism.

The disputes about the future course of imperialist policy keep growing without producing any solution. The differentiation of political forces keeps progressing. As economic weakness grows, there is an increasing

drive toward aggressiveness. Right-wing radicalism and revanchism keep spreading. Sworn opponents of detente of all hues and shades are getting together and the supporters and advocates of a rehash of the "Cold War" are stirring. With such headlines as "Detente Creates Danger of War" they are getting ready to strike out against the policy of peaceful coexistence. A well-known FRG military commentator quite bluntly calls for a "martial will" for NATO and for the FRG.

The fear of the effect of real socialism--where the workers harvest the fruits of their own labor to an ever greater degree--is the thing that drives the ruling imperialist circles into anti-Soviet and antisocialist slander. International detente brings out the advantages of socialism more and more clearly. Safe jobs, comprehensive and free education, an exemplary public health and social welfare system--the implementation of fundamental human rights for all citizens--these increasingly prove to be exemplary achievements of the socialist social system for millions of workers in capitalist countries; capitalism has nothing equivalent to counter that with. This is why imperialist propaganda is being stepped up against detente; this explains the attempts with all possible means and questions to slander socialism in order to destroy its attractiveness for the working people.

By stepping up anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, and nationalism, imperialism seeks the means with which to divert attention from its own weaknesses and countering the victorious advance of the ideas of socialism and its growing force of attraction. Thus, the ideological dispute is stepped up almost lawfully under the conditions of a changed balance of power and the profound crisis of the capitalist system.

No matter what imperialism might attempt here by way of slander and distortions, no matter what miserable handful of dishonorable traitors it may come out with--it will be unable to divert attention from the fact that these actions against the ever stronger positions of socialism and its peace policy in the final analysis is the expression of its dwindling might, its powerlessness in resolving the vital issues of our time.

Imperialism is unable to implement the fundamental rights of man to work, education, and social security. Human rights are most profoundly social rights and they are diametrically opposed by the exploitation of man by man.

The people in the West know only too well that there is no fundamental human right on whose materialization they could compare themselves to the socialist countries. Nevertheless, imperialist politicians and opinion-makers have the nerve of talking about violations of human rights in the socialist states. What infamy! Of all places, where capital makes human dignity a commodity, they advocate human rights as a topic of a campaign that is as long lasting as it is malicious. Of course, this propaganda is not at all interested in helping those millions of people whom imperialism denies the right to work and education. But useless concern over socialism, over a few has-beens on the other hand fills long broadcasts and many columns. The more than one million unemployed in the FRG will draw no consolation from the fact that a

newspaper in that country writes words to the effect that "the assurance of the right to work violates the basic rights" and adds rather cynically "the right to work painfully restricts the personality rights of all persons involved." Between the Alster and Lake Constance there are 500,000 West German citizens who live in ramshackle emergency shelters and in homes for the homeless and they will think little of the freedom of apartment house owners who doubled the rent in 10 years.

The imperialist apostles of freedom and human rights have neither occasion nor the right to try to teach us any lessons. Under imperialism, they have phony freedom and lack of freedom.

There is no room for that sort of thing under socialism. The political might of the working class has liberated the workers from both of those in the countries of socialism. We citizens of the GDR are free--free in the knowledge of the great social tasks and worthwhile goals, citizens who decide expertly and who commit themselves to the entire community and to their own welfare to the best of their ability.

Dear Party Friends!

Our party with its full strength supports the endeavors of our GDR, in the past and in the future, for the continuation of the policy of detente, for compliance with all agreements and treaties in spirit and letter, in word and deed. The emphasis here is on the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki as a whole. The issue here involves the content, the essence, and the prospects of peaceful coexistence and detente. We can see how aggressive imperialist forces, especially influential circles in the FRG, are stepping up their attempts to violate these treaties and to falsify their content. And so we can still say: like the treaties themselves, their implementation can only be the result of a tough conflict with aggressive imperialist circles, the result of a further compulsion to adjust, which we exert upon imperialism by strengthening socialism.

Although imperialist West Germany, in the Final Act of Helsinki and in the well known treaties, pledged itself to recognize the inviolability of the international boundaries of the GDR in an obligatory fashion under international law, the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe had the nerve to rule on that boundary as it were a simple county line between North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate. By referring to so-called inner-German boundaries, they are challenging not only the international boundary between the GDR and the FRG--and that alone is enough of a threat to peace--but they are also challenging the entire European map, such as it derived from the result of World War II and postwar developments. Here however--when it comes to the untouchability of international boundaries and thus also peace--there are no provisos and that of course applies also to West Germany. Anybody who says anything else is only stirring up revanchism and is protecting the blackest revanchists, no matter what he might protest to the contrary, no matter what domestic laws and court verdicts he might cite.

It was especially German imperialism which always wanted more than it already had. And its spokesmen were not just talking--they also acted accordingly. They were not concerned with right when it came to the territorial possessions of others, the lives and security of the peoples. But are not these fatal traditions still alive in the words, ideas, and hopes of numerous leading West German politicians? Those who today believe the demagogues of German imperialism in the FRG will, as in the past, have to learn the same bitter lesson in the future: his deceivers were and are the losers of history.

We are therefore entirely within our rights when we ask this:

What kind of a state is it in which it is possible for politicians to pledge themselves in treaties to recognize the inviolability of boundaries but where at the same time the FRG views itself as a state within the 1937 boundaries?

What kind of a state is it which under international law and in an obligatory fashion subscribed to the principle of noninterference but pursues a policy which quite bluntly is aimed at altering the social system of the GDR and other states of the socialist community?

No, one cannot, like Bonn, declare oneself ready to maintain with the GDR equal relations of peaceful coexistence among sovereign states with opposing social systems and at the same time want to treat the GDR as a part of West Germany, like a West German state, quoting the Constitution.

Anybody who does that is creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and constant tensions. He exposes himself and had better not maintain that he is sincere and has no claim to the confidence of others. There is no middle ground between detente and revanchism.

Those who want to keep the borders open and who want to open an international boundary--along which the strongest military groupings of both international systems face each other--for uncontrolled action and movements, will also find juridical "justifications" for having murderers go free, provided it fits in with their boundary theory and their declared antisocialist attitude.

The scandalous acquittal of the double murderer Weinhold--against which thousands of our party members protested full of indignation--shows what devastating consequences arise when dyed-in-the-wool opponents of detente in the FRG are given a free hand, politically and legally, to violate the treaty.

Those who, contrary to the international law obligations of the All-European Conference, refuse to recognize the principle of noninterference and the territorial integrity of the GDR--be it along its boundary with the FRG or perhaps its capital Berlin--are proving, in spite of all protestations of peace, that they are at war with reality.

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Those who claim to extend citizenship to the citizens of other states, such as our Republic, are openly hostile to our state and its citizens. Those who, like Bonn, would like to treat the GDR as a state with citizens and us as citizens without a state, we want to answer: we are happy and proud to be citizens of the GDR.

The Duesseldorf Congress of the CDU recently adopted a platform plank on a so-called German policy, reeking with the spirit and language of the Cold War. In vain do we look in this document of arrogance against the GDR for concepts such as Basic Treaty or Final Act of Helsinki. As if there were no Moscow, Warsaw, and Berlin treaties, the CDU makes itself the unsolicited advocate of all Germans who, as it says, "live outside the Federal Republic of Germany, be it in East Prussia, Silesia, Brandenburg, or Thuringia."

Anybody who does that today, in peacetime, proclaims goals which simply cannot be attained in peacetime. It is unfortunately true that the pressure of the CDU/CSU on Bonn Government politicians is not without influence. Through revanchism however--whether in the old or new getup--they are endangering everything that has already been achieved by way of positive results in the normalization of relations. This is why we consistently reject all revanchist claims and attacks, any violation of treaties that have been signed. The development of mutually advantageous relations, relations of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems will be possible only through the strict observation of sovereign equality, independence, and territorial integrity of the GDR by the FRG.

The SED Central Committee secretary general, our friend Erich Honecker, in his interview for SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG made it unmistakably and convincingly clear: the FRG's attitude toward the treaties and the obligations arising from them increasingly turns out to be the key issue of relations between the GDR and the FRG. Nationalistic and even neonazi forces are increasingly coming out against these foundations for the normalization of relations in the FRG. If we are to make progress in relations between the GDR and the FRG, then the FRG must likewise start with the unalterable fact that there are two sovereign, mutually independent German States today. All conclusions in terms of international law and politics must be derived from that. The existing treaties can be a good foundation for the further development of relations. But the prerequisite is that they are complied with, in spirit and letter. We are for the expansion of relations on the foundation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, especially the strict respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs.

Our party members welcomed the clear remarks by SED Central Committee Secretary General Erich Honecker in that interview, regarding the possible development and future burdens on relations between the GDR and the FRG. This is quite in keeping with our ideas: if reason and good will in relations between the two states are to retain the upper hand, then the Government of the FRG must at last comply with the treaties in spirit and letter and must stop all provocations and interference attempts.

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That applies to the Final Act of Helsinki and to the Basic Treaty as well as the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin. This unity clearly brings out the European status of agreements between the GDR and the FRG as well as the regulation of the status of West Berlin which is not a part of the FRG and which must not be governed by it. Those who attack these agreements are also attacking the very roots of detente.

We are in favor of the policy of peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems and we are therefore in favor of the implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE as a whole. We are entitled to expect that also from the imperialist signatory states to the Final Act. As the name of that conference already says, that includes giving proper attention to the basic principle that all progress in collaboration in the scientific-technological, economic, cultural, and humanitarian fields is possible only on the basis of the ten principles precisely because they should be promoted for the benefit of peace and detente.

A West German television correspondent happens to have been of the opinion "that detente policy is the most effective form of interference in the internal affairs of others which can be justified under international law"; this means that he read the Final Act through the eyes of imperialist class interests. Of course, imperialism always ties its own class interests in with the implementation of agreements and treaties with socialist countries. Imperialism's class interests are basically in contradiction to peace and international security while socialism and peace are one and the same. That was the case, for example, when it came to implementing the Potsdam Agreement. That of course is also the case today as we are concerned with the Final Act of Helsinki. And this will also be the case with all those agreements which the socialist states seek to work out for the purpose of expanding and achieving the military supplementation of the process of detente.

The CSCE agreed upon those principles whose compliance guarantees the conduct of the class conflict between socialism and imperialism without war and makes peace durable. That is the crux of the matter. Those who, in the imperialist signatory states, talk big about the implementation of the Final Act should press for deeds in their own country.

Dear Party Friends!

The imperialist politicians can avoid detente policy less and less. Socialism is on the offensive. Its policy of implementing the Final Act of Helsinki as a whole is successful.

Socialism not only did decisive spade work for the materialization and the success of the conference; it also created a headstart in the implementation of its result--and it did so without exceptions in all fields covered by the Final Act. The socialist states go to Belgrade with a positive record even though much remains to be done in order to turn the principles agreed upon at Helsinki comprehensively into a foundation for relations between the European states. As in Helsinki, so in Belgrade should peace and collaboration be the fundamental topic of discussions

by sovereign partners. Here the important thing is not only to record what has been achieved but to draft and finalize new recommendations and proposals on the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki.

This is in keeping with the essence of socialist foreign policy. This is in the interest of European security; it is in keeping with the hopes of the peoples and it is within their strength. We National Democrats will do our share here.

### III. Social Coresponsibility of National Democratic Party of Germany in Further Fashioning of Developed Socialist Society; Its Contribution to the Implementation of the Primary Mission, to the Further Elevation of the Workers' Material and Cultural Living Standard.

Dear Party Friends!

Social security at home and a secure peace abroad--the basic orientation of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for the further social development of the German Democratic Republic corresponds to this most profoundly humanist concern of socialism. High requirements, arising from the fashioning of the developed socialist society and the international class conflict thus create a measure for our party's social coresponsibility. That determines the concrete content of our ideological work in the course of the further strengthening of the GDR.

A great process of social, material, and intellectual advance, a process of profound social changes is now taking place in our land. Developing all walks of community life according to plan on a high level is the fundamental task involved in the construction of the developed socialist society. The advantages and driving forces of socialism must be further developed. The thing to do now is fully to implement the resultant great possibilities for the further unfolding of social relations and socialist personalities. This creates the prerequisites for the fulfillment of the sense of socialism--which is to do everything for the welfare of the people--on an ever higher step. The policy of the primary mission, in its unity of economic and social policy, is in keeping with that.

From these fundamental features of the developed socialist society we derive the tasks of our ideological effort particularly in the economic, social, and cultural-policy areas. This at the same time determines our party's contribution to the National Front's effectiveness in terms of mass policy. In our ideological work we are primarily concerned with the propagation of fundamental tasks and the interrelationships of the political, economic, and cultural development of our Republic, the laws of social development, the profound understanding of the advantages, gains, and driving forces of socialism. This is the only way our agitation and propaganda work can do justice to its consciousness-shaping and personality-promoting, its society-benefitting and practically effective function in response to growing social needs. This is shared in common by all sectors of our ideological work; it gives them the necessary social action force. Thus we consolidate the social bonds among our party's members because we help them consciously doing their best for the all around strengthening of socialism through correct insights and passionate commitment.

Our party friends want to continue to prove themselves in their job activities and in community life; they want to prove that they are politically organized alliance partners of the working class with the conviction and force of conviction appropriate for them. They should and can do that in the certainty that our party is a reliable and irreplaceable advisor to them in that. Thus we mobilize our members for conscious community co-operation. This is the main road for making the best possible use of our own experiences, our own political-ideological action within the alliance toward the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress, for the benefit of society. Our party's social coresponsibility begins with promoting the personality development of our party friends with political work on a high level. Helping them discharge civic responsibility, being good experts on the job and at the same time being exemplary citizens of our socialist State--that is our goal. Our ideological efforts are aimed at these political-moral effects and this kind of practical benefit. Thus will our party do justice to its role as a political-ideological factor in the triggering of economic, intellectual-cultural, and other social activities in the course of the further fashioning of the developed socialist society.

This task arises from the path of our party so far; it springs quite logically from the more extensive objective for our Republic's social development. It is thus given the status of a new and significant characteristic of our social activity. Our National Democratic Party of Germany wants to and will accomplish deeds for the further implementation of the primary mission.

The political course of the primary mission will be continued consistently. It will be pursued in long-range terms. This is what was resolved by the Ninth SED Party Congress. Just a few weeks ago SED Central Committee Secretary General Erich Honecker confirmed that at the Fifth Plenum. The unity of economic and social policy is becoming even firmer and more effective. The goals of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR National Economy are determined by that.

Plans call for high growth rates. By 1980, the produced national income is to rise to 127.9 percent. Industrial commodity production will go up to 134 percent and labor productivity to 130 percent. An increase of 21.5 percent is planned for retail trade. Between 1976 and 1980, a total of 750,000 apartments, including the pertinent community facilities, will be newly built or modernized. The nucleus of our social-policy program, the apartment construction program, will be carried out ambitiously.

The goals of the five-year plan are aimed at multiplying and effectively utilizing the gains of socialism for the welfare of the working class and all working people, for their social security and for a secure peace. That is everybody's concern and that demands a total effort from all of us.

The results of the work done so far toward the ambitious implementation of the five-year plan prove that we have all prerequisites for attaining the plan targets. Steady and dynamic economic growth is continuing. The 1976 plan was fulfilled and was exceeded in essential areas.

The transition into the year 1977 came off with a high degree of continuity and a considerable output increase. Economic progress is being tied in with the brisk implementation of the social-policy program in an ever more impressive fashion. In 1976, living conditions were noticeably improved for about 5.6 million working people and retirees; in 1976 alone, 150,617 apartments were built; over the past several years, 361,000 young couples received interest-free loans amounting to more than M1.9 billion. And new social-policy measures will become effective on 1 May. Along with all of that, we will in the future also guarantee stability of consumer prices on commodities, rents, and services in keeping with the resolutions that were adopted. Billions will be made available to us for that from the government budget.

What grandiose results, what reliable prospects for the future! The socialist planned economy proves to be the decisive source of a secure life for the members of all classes and strata. Socialism guarantees social security and full employment. It guarantees a high tempo of economic growth, planned elevation of the material and cultural living standard of the working people. The all-around, free development of the personality, the sheltered position of the individual in society--these are its essential features.

It is precisely that which after all characterizes the historical superiority of socialist society. Here it is well worth the effort to work. Here, one derives joy from figuring out how the plan can be fulfilled and overfulfilled in certain specific areas. Here there is a need for joining in socialist competition in the enterprises and within the National Front. That promotes action readiness and eagerness; it demands a high degree of effectiveness from all social forces.

For us, plan indexes are not just an economic target but a social concern. They are, last but not least, political-moral magnitudes. We consider them to be obligations toward action for the all-around strengthening of the GDR. For us, therefore, the five-year plan is a fighting program in which we must prove the value of our alliance policy not only because of its demanding goals but also because of its comprehensive social-policy content. It demands and promotes the action readiness of all of our party's members.

This is of direct importance to our party's ideological work and has farreaching consequences as far as our leadership activity is concerned. Everything that has been achieved here can only be the foundation for higher quality in our ideological efforts in the economic-policy field.

Material production is and remains the foundation of social life, the main battlefield between socialism and imperialism. This characterizes the most profoundly social and all-encompassing political significance of all efforts toward the further expansion of our Republic's material-technical base. Through the further perfection of the material-technical base, we create the decisive prerequisites for implementing the primary mission which gives the occupation activities of our party friends a high social standing. Helping to fashion the socialist attitude toward

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labor and dubious of the socialist way of life is increasingly becoming a main point in our party's ideological work in the economic-policy field.

Enhancing our party members' knowledge on social interrelationships of economic processes, spreading good knowledge about the laws of economic growth--these become a pivotal point for our party's entire political-ideological effort.

Our party members have become more interested in economic policy questions. They are increasingly acquiring the fundamentals and they are looking into the basic issues of socialism's political economy because they can feel how economic progress correctly turns into social progress. The more we do to meet that need, the better and the more consciously will our party friends become active in support of the good cause of socialism. We are placing our economic policy efforts entirely in the service of the promotion of the willingness, initiatives, action readiness, and creative force of our party friends on the job as the most important criterion of civic accomplishment.

That creates the criterion for our party's economic policy propaganda. In this way we are concretely gearing our party work toward the requirements of the unity of economic and social policy. Understanding responsibility for our own assignment as coresponsibility for the entire plan, for the solution of political and social problems--that is how we view our political work with the plan and for the plan.

Dear party friends!

The more progress is made in fashioning the developed socialist society, the closer will be the reciprocal relations between the most varied aspects of this profound process and the growth of labor productivity. This growth is the decisive source of the satisfaction of the growing material and intellectual-cultural needs of the working people. The increase in labor productivity is the basic prerequisite for continuing to implement the primary mission step by step. The intensification of the national economy, primarily by means of scientific-technological progress, is and remains the main way here.

Socialist intensification is the type of reproduction which is characteristic of developed socialist society and is more than just an economic assignment. It is a significant factor in the overall social development of our Republic and therefore demands of us intensive ideological work with all of our membership.

Making the slogan "derive greater benefits from every Mark, from every working hour and from every gram of material!" a personal concern, constantly figuring and calculating how maximum results can be achieved with minimum effort--that is the nucleus of intensification. The ten main points of intensification--explained by the SED Central Committee secretary general, our friend Erich Honecker, in terms of their complex interconnections and their inseparable unity with socialist economic

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integration--those ten main points add up to a guideline for everybody, including for our ideological work.

Thus our persuasion work is concentrated primarily on those problems which serve to increase labor productivity, improve quality, and raise efficiency. It is precisely the improvement of product quality which has become a basic issue whose resolution will decisively influence the attainment of our national economic goals. The slogan coined by Erika Steinfuehrer, a woman worker--"everybody does quality work for everybody else"--is being construed also by our party friends as a promise and a demand from everybody to everybody.

In this sense we are orienting our ideological work toward our party friends' conscious participation in socialist competition in industry and agriculture, in the construction industry and in the transportation industry, in the service, repair, and commercial sector. We are happy to note that thousands of our party members have included many valuable pledges in this competition on the way to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the way to our 11th Party Congress.

The discussion during our annual membership assemblies, during the kreis and bezirk conferences, showed this: Our party friends are helping in quickly transposing new scientific-technological discoveries into production and thus attaining scientific-technological top levels in products and production methods. They are helping in efficiently turning out new, high-quality products for the needs of the population, the national economy, and for export. They are justified in considering this to be an important alliance-policy assignment.

In the course of socialist teamwork with the members of the working class, quite a few party friends from the technical intelligentsia are turning in top-level performances in the scientific-technological field. One of them is our party friend Eberhard Schreiter, a planning engineer and design department head in the Bad Salzungen Cold-Rolling Mill VEB. In teamwork with other plant personnel, he developed and built a binding and packaging assembly line for heavy steel strip packages. This decisively eased this hitherto extremely heavy physical labor. It became possible to assign eight workers to other tasks and it was possible to refrain from importing a corresponding system from the nonsocialist economic area worth 3.6 million valuta marks [foreign currency marks]. For socialist competition during the year of Great October, party friend Schreiter has set himself new goals for the intensification of the enterprise production process, particularly in connection with active cooperation in the implementation of a youth project, by the end of this year. As member and parttime functionary of the Chamber of Technology, he will actively work for the speedup of scientific-technological progress also in other fields. Moreover, party friend Schreiter is at the same time chairman of the Bad Salzungen-West Residential Association and a member of our party's Kreis Executive Committee.

Like party friend Schreiter, many of our party members greatly influence scientific-technological progress, its speedup and effective utilization in the national economy. This is the key to a high degree of national economic dynamics.

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The increase in labor productivity would run into limitations if we were not to make use of the latest discoveries from science and technology because scientific-technological progress is unlimited. That applies not only to big enterprises but also to medium and small enterprises although of course there are differing conditions. Our party friends who are VEB managers, our members from the technical intelligentsia must do their share, as part of their national economic responsibility, so that the results from research and development in the centrally managed industry will master and more comprehensively be transposed to the production effort of the bezirk-managed enterprises.

The role of the small and medium enterprises does not become any smaller but rather grows with the increasing differentiation of the demand for qualitatively high-grade consumer goods and supplier products. Our party friends, who manage such enterprises, are responsible for making sure that, even in case of a change in the conditions of subordination, the important supply of a thousand little items, so necessary for everyday needs, will continue to be guaranteed by the bezirk-managed industries.

In order to make these enterprises more efficient and to modernize them, the utilization of many long years of rich experience gathered by many party friends especially in product group work is indispensable. The first factor in intensification is to orient the science and technology plan tasks even more toward that which we need and to make it economically and socially rapidly effective as well as to compare the products consistently with international levels.

The achievements of our party friends, who are in leading positions in the economy, in science, and technology, achievements which are significant for the national economy, deserve high marks. The promotion of socialist teamwork of the alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia is an important concern of our ideological work in the economic-policy field.

Our party friends, who are active in agriculture and in the essential food industry, know what their tasks are, they know that they must do everything possible toward the complex utilization of intensification factors with a new quality for the transition to industrial production. They are starting with the idea that the in-depth development and consolidation of production cooperation, as an essential feature of our socialist foreign policy, can bring about further economic, social, and intellectual-cultural progress in our rural areas. Socialist farm policy promotes the development of the socialist way of life and thus the gradual elimination of the essential differences between the city and the rural areas in that living conditions in the village become more like those in the city.

A broad field of social and community activity opens up for our party friends and party units in the rural areas. Their attitude toward the drafts of the new LPG model bylaws is sustained by the readiness to do their part toward the consolidation of the alliance of the working class with the class of cooperative farmers as the foundation for all

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alliance relationships. In the agricultural producer cooperatives for crop production and the livestock production LPG, as well as in the production cooperation facilities, our party members have great possibilities for creating the prerequisites for increased crop and livestock production, with steady and rising yields on the fields, for creating a broad assortment of fine-grade foodstuffs at stable prices and thus essentially contributing to the accomplishment of the primary mission.

Dear Party Friends!

The conversion of the enterprises with government participation, private industrial and construction enterprises, as well as industrially producing crafts producer cooperatives into state enterprises came during the time since our Tenth Party Congress. All party friends, who are today managers of these state enterprises, bear a high degree of social responsibility for a management activity which equally demands and promotes the creative force of the working people. Out of alliance-policy responsibility, they are proving themselves as the agents of the working class and as the managers of state property. Their development, their work bear witness to the vital force of the alliance. This constituted proof in our Republic that socialist society appreciates and needs the abilities and action readiness of one and all. It has a safe place for everybody who does his work to the best of his ability.

Many party friends who are VEB managers are today in management positions which extend beyond the limits of their former enterprises or PGH. At the Tenth Party Congress we assured them that we would continue to be reliable political advisors to them. We kept that promise through their political-ideological promotion. The closer they feel tied to the party, the better will we be able to help them in justifying the confidence which the working class has placed in them.

Dear Party Friends!

We believe that the standing and framework of our political-ideological work with craftsmen and tradesmen are determined by the requirements of the further fashioning of the developed socialist society, particularly the primary mission, as well as society's expectations with regard to our party.

Everybody knows from his own experience how very significant repair work and services are to the further development of the working and living conditions, to the fashioning of the socialist way of life. The requirements for the volume and quality of repair work and services are not declining; instead, they grow along with the further fashioning of the developed socialist society. A developed system of repairs and services is an essential characteristic of the developed socialist society. Thus the work of craftsmen and tradesmen reveals high social significance and becomes an inseparable part of the primary mission.

New social-policy criteria thus take shape for ideological work in this field. This today determines the responsibility of our party toward those party friends who are craftsmen and tradesmen. And this is

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precisely what increasingly confronts our party with the duty of being a good political advisor to the craftsmen and tradesmen as well as in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society.

Our party traditionally has great possibilities for helping to create those ideological conditions which are indispensable for a noticeable improvement of the supply of the population with services, repairs, and direct supply functions through craftsmen and tradesmen. We are familiar with the action readiness of the craftsmen and tradesmen. We know all about the way in which they have proved themselves in the alliance over the almost three decades of our Republic's history. And the craftsmen and tradesmen are familiar with our party's significance because it helps them do effective, socially useful, and personally satisfying work in the alliance.

Our National Democratic Party of Germany is always a familiar political home, full of confidence, for the craftsmen and tradesmen. Since our party's founding we have paid special attention to their problems from the overall social viewpoint. We helped them recognize social necessities and act in agreement with personal and social interests.

Thanks to membership in our party, more and more craftsmen and tradesmen are developing into politically conscious allies of the working class and into respected models for those of their fellow craftsmen and tradesmen who have no party affiliation. This confirms them in the certainty that they did take a correct, personally and socially useful step when they decided to join our party.

Our craftsmen and tradesmen party friends, through their attitudes and actions, prove the statement that was made at the Ninth SED Congress: "The craftsmen and other working people organized in producer cooperatives, the self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen, the commission merchants and private retail merchants will in the future likewise have favorable possibilities for participating in the fashioning of the developed socialist society and above all contributing to the ever better satisfaction of the needs of the population in the sector of services, trade, and supply. They have a firm place and secure prospects in our State."

This basic policy line is expressed in the program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Its implementation calls for a high degree of political work also and precisely by our National Democratic Party of Germany in the National Front. It is a demand addressed to our party's entire action within the alliance policy.

The accomplishment of this task however begins for us in political work with our craftsmen and tradesmen party friends. It is our social duty to utilize all of our party's possibilities in order to enable our craftsmen and tradesmen party friends to be models for their own kind in the discharge of civic responsibility. This work is a part of all leadership work, it is the concern of all executive committees, it is a task which demands the strength of our entire party organization. We expressed these views earlier at our Tenth Party Congress and they have been fully confirmed.

The supply-policy requirements, deriving from the primary mission, determine the forms of typical crafts and trades activities, be it in the producer cooperative or as individually active craftsman, as commission merchant or restaurant operator or as self-employed tradesman. Daily existence, the decisive role of state property, the rule of socialist production conditions--these form the social prerequisites for that.

This is the point of departure for our government's performance-promoting measures of 12 February 1976 and this is their specific purpose. They correspond not only to the social requirements but also to the proposals and ideas of our party.

The defects of these measures are expressed by the greater confidence of the craftsmen and tradesmen in the continuity and farsightedness of the alliance policy of the working class as well as in increasing action readiness. The repair and service operations of the PGH and self-employed craftsmen for the population increased by M213 million in 1976. In the local supply sector alone, the crafts achieved a repair and service increase which was about four times greater than in 1975 and which led to the better supply of the population.

Our party contributed to that through a mobilizing effort, rich in content. The drafting of the long-term government concepts, the promotion of socialist teamwork with state enterprises in product and supply groups--these found our undivided attention just as much as the specifically goal-oriented application of material incentives and the preservation and expansion of capacities through trade licenses.

Our party press has published a wealth of examples bearing witness to the outstanding initiatives of many craftsmen and tradesmen toward the better supply of the population. They relate to reconstruction, expansion, and other rationalization measures, particularly in such important sectors as bakeries, retail stores and restaurants, the resumption of artisan work in repairs and services for the population, the in-house construction of rationalization means, and the reduction in material consumption and costs.

We have exemplary initiatives for the improvement of customer service through the reduction in waiting times and the acceptance of house repairs, through staggered working hours early in the morning and in the evening, the introduction of the shift system and longer store hours as well as the establishment of field offices. Finally, many craftsmen and tradesmen party friends persuaded their children to go into the business and continue their establishments and they also decided to step up their training of apprentices as a part of their professional honor and as an expression of their civic responsibility.

Active participation in the socialist competition of the National Front under the heading of "pitch in!" and technical guidance of citizens interested in the repair bases in residential areas has for many craftsmen and tradesmen party friends become a very specific contribution to the work of the National Front.

The most important thing is the fulfillment of the supply mission. Here we are talking about examples such as the one set by the "Heinrich Hertz" PGH in Jena whose chairman happens to be our party friend Klaus Kurzer. It increased the repair share for the population to 83 percent of its total output. The cooperative craftsmen from Jena want to do their work with good quality, short waiting times, and exemplary customer service. The PGH has established an exemplary home customer service, including late-hours and weekend customer service. On working days, major household appliances and TV sets are repaired until 2000.

Party friend senior foreman Reinhard Saule, a self-employed upholstery master craftsman in Rudolstadt, accomplished the work quota assigned to him for 1976--excluding repairs and the production of upholstered furniture according to the individual customer specifications--in 50 weeks. He developed a compressed-air nail extraction tool with which it was possible to increase labor productivity by 70 percent.

We want to generalize these examples--which are representative of many, many others here--we want to help bring about more and more such examples and we want to use government promotion measures for this purpose. We are just at the beginning of their implementation. The necessary increase in services along the lines of the main task is being accomplished everywhere, in order to achieve a positive capacity development in all important supply sectors, and the return from production and investment work to repair and services for the population must be achieved. The important thing here is to achieve such a return in agreement with the central resolutions and the national economic plan. This means that the return of capacities should be accomplished according to plan--which by no means should imply that this could not be done briskly.

All of this calls for our political contribution in every bezirk and every kreis. That applies to repair, service, and direct supply functions, on the whole, and it applies also to the construction trades which are so directly related to the nucleus of our Republic's social policy over the last several years.

The PGH and private craft enterprises in the construction industry are handling almost 75 percent of all construction repairs on residential buildings. And among the chairmen of the 1,099 PGH in the main construction sector and in the secondary construction sector, 260, in other words, one quarter, are members of our party. Thousands of private construction craftsmen and other construction workers belong to our party.

Here, social expectations are also expectations in terms of our alliance responsibility in the truest sense of the word. We must do justice to it through political work primarily with our party friends from the construction trade; we must create an understanding for the profound and far-reaching social effects of their artisan work; we must create clarity on the high political-moral content of their activities precisely also with a view to the resolutions of the SED Central Committee entitled "On the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress in the Construction industry."

Here it was emphasized that the construction trades producer cooperatives as well as the self-employed construction craftsmen should be employed primarily for repair work through long-term assignments and that their initiatives should be promoted even more effectively through the detailing of apprentices.

Dear Party Friends!

It is a socially justified concern, geared to the present and the future, carefully to preserve that which exists and to reverse the tendency in the decline of craftsmen and tradesmen and the number of people employed there. Narrow-minded or bureaucratic behavior toward craftsmen and tradesmen is alien to socialism. Craftsmen and tradesmen, such as bakers, butchers, tailors, shoemakers, bicycle mechanics, roofers, plumbers, grocers, restaurant operators, and many others, will be promoted and needed by our society in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society also during coming decades in order better to satisfy the differentiated growth of requirements for services, repairs, and direct supply functions and in order better to take socialist needs into account. Every critical word on this matter--we want to underscore emphatically--is last but not least directed at us, at our party's leadership bodies in the bezirks, kreises, and localities, our deputies and council members, our party friends in the committees and working groups of the National Front. This is a reminder of their duties and our duties.

Naturally, all of these problems are being solved by the appropriate local agencies in keeping with territorial requirements. But our social coresponsibility for a consistent and comprehensive implementation of our government's resolutions aimed at the promotion and support of the performance capacity of craftsmen and tradesmen--that is something which we ourselves must fully take care of.

So, let us emphasize once again: the measures of 12 February 1976 correspond to the social requirements; they agree with our party's proposals and ideas. We are concerned with utilizing all possibilities inherent in them.

To overcome some of the still existing but avoidable obstacles in the full utilization of the performance capacity of craftsmen and tradesmen through the implementation of these measures we want to point up some problems which, in our opinion require further solution also through our cooperation.

PGH and private crafts enterprises should contribute to the increased output of crafts and trades enterprises, through better equipment with tools and small mechanisms, more than has been the case so far, by means of the in-house construction of such rationalization equipment. In addition to the VEB, it would be necessary, especially in the process of reconversion, to win suitable PGH and private crafts enterprises over to that.

The reconversion of production and investment activities to repair and services must be carried out according to plan and in a manner that will be meaningful within the national economy and above all more briskly.

On the basis of long-term government concepts, it will be necessary to make the issue of trade licenses even more active and to orient it primarily toward repair, service, and direct supply functions. We must particularly expand those efforts where requirements and capacities differ most strongly.

The manyfold possibilities of providing material incentives, including the lump sum tax, would have to be utilized even more comprehensively and in a more goal-oriented manner for repairs and services and would have to become effective for many other crafts enterprises through flexible handling which will produce results in terms of supply operations.

It would be nice if the bezirk and kreis councils, starting with the government directives, were to make greater use of their right to include additional establishments in the benefits granted by these measures, considering the specific supply situation.

That calls for the active collaboration of craftsmen and tradesmen themselves and appropriate influence from our party's leadership body in the territory. Our responsibility for that is determined by social development, by all the things that make life under socialism beautiful, safe, and certain in terms of the future.

Production forces and production conditions under socialism are fully in the service of man, of the material and intellectual shelter of citizens. The issue now is to do an ever better job in satisfying the material and cultural needs of the citizens, to fashion the manner of social life and individual behavior in all sectors, that is, the socialist way of life, which is so characteristic of the developed socialist society.

Dear Party Friends!

This is precisely why our ideological efforts in the cultural-policy area is an indispensable component of party work toward the accomplishment of the primary mission. Culture and art can contribute much to the development of socialist ways of thinking and action, to an optimistic feeling about life and to socialist community life. Yes, they are irreplaceable for the development of the socialist way of life which is characterized by the ideals of the working class. That has never before been as clear as it has been since the Eighth Congress of the SED. The Ninth SED Congress has provided further impetus and new criteria for this successful socialist cultural policy as an indispensable component of the GDR's overall policy.

All walks of our socialist society are being permeated by socialist culture. Their various elements are blended increasingly harmoniously into a unit. The wealth of cultural values rose above all thanks to the culturally-creative role of the working class. The culture of labor, and of life as a whole is developing further.

That applies to the culture of the environment and to the degree of cultivatedness in interpersonal relations. A many-sided intellectual-cultural life is also unfolding in the residential areas. The socialist content

and the internationalist content of our socialist national culture are continuing to take shape.

Profound relations to socialist art are a part of the intellectual wealth of socialist personalities. They are an indispensable value in our life under socialism. How much do we owe to the socialist-realistic art of our Republic, of the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries. The works of humanist and progressive creativity on all continents opens up for us an interesting world of ideas and experiences rich in content. They enable us to be close to the struggle of all democratic and progressive forces. They give us amusement and relaxation and they strengthen our sense for that which is truly good and beautiful.

Particularly lovable is the art that is full of life, the art which tells us about the everyday, active heroism of the people in our country and in the entire community of socialist states. It introduces us even more deeply into socialist reality. It gives us new strength for our work in our anti-imperialist struggle. That is the meaning of artistic creation under socialism as responsibility for socialism. Mutual confidence and common responsibility characterize relations between the party of the working class and artistically creative individuals. That determines the creative atmosphere and the good climate for the arts in our Republic.

Bonds have become stronger also between our party and the artist party friends. Quite a few artists, handcraftsmen, and folk artists, who are party friends, have created new and good works of socialist realism since our Tenth Party Congress. We believe that the high socialist idea content of these works is a decisive quality characteristic of the creative efforts of our artist party friends.

Everything that is good and beautiful in our time, everything great and historical that is taking place in our world should be discovered by artists. Nothing that takes shape in the advance of our life is exempt from that. Constructive criticism should help also in the field of art in mastering conflicts of our growth, as well as problems of the profound change going on in our land. Thus works of art give the builders of socialism self-assurance and self-confidence. This leads to the kind of partisanship and bonds with the people which our Republic's citizens expect from artists and from the arts. Artistic mastery presupposes talent, good training, and just as progressive political attitude.

The revolutionary upheavals of our day must be recorded in terms of their essence and their full depth and the advantages, the beauties, and the gains of socialism must be crafted artistically. In this sense we will continue to be a good friend and helper to these, our party friends.

Dear Party Friends!

The culture of the developed socialist society includes everything that is valuable and progressive in the history of our people and of all mankind. The care, spread, and socialist acquisition of the national and

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international cultural heritage serve the goal of developing the love of the citizens for their socialist fatherland, the unalterable friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other states of our socialist community, as well as the feeling of solidarity with all that is progressive.

Specially close relations tie us to the treasures of the national cultures of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. They are characterized by a truly internationalist spirit and content. We are happy that numerous artist party friends are helping prepare the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with new works. This anniversary is an occasion for us to promote the meeting of our members with literature and art, with the people of the Soviet Union even more resolutely. We want to make sure that the experience of the international wealth of socialist culture will become the deeper need of every party friend too. In this way we contribute to the historical process of the reciprocal enrichment and gradual approach of socialist national culture.

We resolutely reject that culture which comes from capitalist countries and whose ideological nucleus consists of anticomunism, antihumanism, contempt for human life and corruption, racial hatred and war mongering, cultural pessimism and hostility to progress. We are and remain vigilant against the stepped-up attempts of imperialism to abuse the field of culture and especially of cultural exchange for infiltrating its ideology and way of life into the GDR and the other brother countries for purposes of subversion. Like the other states of the socialist community, the GDR long before the Helsinki Conference opened its borders wide to the humanist spirit. Anybody who says anything different is lying.

Our socialist society has nothing in common with a society in which the needs of the majority and the fundamental human rights of all workers are not at the focus of concern but rather where everything revolves around the profit motive and the consumerism of an antipopular minority. It is only in the essence of socialism ever better to satisfy the growing material and intellectual-cultural needs of the people. Yes, our socialist State steadily promotes the meaningful development of needs so that life will become richer and more filled with culture. Material possessions under socialism are not an end in themselves or perhaps a matter of "social prestige." We multiply and use them so that the socialist way of life may develop and so that the meaning of socialism may be fulfilled ever more comprehensively. The increasing political and social activity of our members causes their intellectual-cultural needs to keep growing, to become richer and more differentiated, which is quite in keeping with the essence of socialism. An active and manyfold intellectual-cultural life in turn releases more and more political and social activity.

Dear Party Friends!

Our ideological work in the cultural-policy field promotes the partisan political attitude of the membership. It helps develop social relationships permeated by the ideals of the working class, by socialist morality.

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This is connected with high demands, especially practical demands for our work aimed at the promotion of intellectual-cultural life in residential areas. Here is the main area of cultural-political work with all members. Social gatherings, conversations on current issues of our time, the common experience of culture and art, and common cultural activities promote commonality in the thinking, feelings, and actions of the citizens. Here we are not overlooking the value of individual intellectual-cultural activity and the effects of cultivated family relations.

Our basic units have a high responsibility for making sure that our party friends will participate in a many-sided and interesting community life full of culture, last but not least, in the apartment house communities and will themselves contribute to that. Whenever they express themselves in cultural-policy talks on their views and their relations to cultural and artistic events, it turns out that the majority of them has very concrete, quite conscious relationships with culture and various forms of art. The number of party friends, who participate in folk-art or in natural-science or social-science interest groups in the clubs is increasing. Many basic units have done much along those lines recently.

All local and residential area associations have a vast field of social activity here. That too is a genuine contribution to alliance policy. Thus we see and understand socialist culture as an inseparable part of our life and our work for socialism.

Dear Party Friends!

Culture and education in our society are closely interrelated. Yes, the development of the socialist education system, along with the elimination of exploitation of man by man and the successes in securing peace, is the greatest cultural achievement in our Republic's history. The socialist educational system is among the most significant gains and advantages of socialism. It is in the interest of all citizens of our Republic, it is a concern of every member of our party to make it ever more effective and to make it even more useful for the education and training of all-around developed personalities. Each one of us has the possibility of contributing to the development of a younger generation devoted to socialism on the basis of his own life and experience, on the basis of a knowledge of that which socialism means to the personal and social welfare. Transferring the respect for labor and working people, the love of the socialist fatherland, defense preparedness and the community spirit--which grew out of hard struggle--to our young people, helping educate them along the lines of socialist patriotism and internationalism, that is a part of the discharge of the civic responsibility of each and every member of our party, especially of course those party friends who, as parents or teachers, as foremen or instructors are directly called upon to do this job.

At this point we would like to address a word of appreciation to all of our party friends who, in the consciousness processes of our social development, are not only learners but above all teachers: especially our

party friends who are teachers and educators in national education and occasional training, our party friends who are college and technical school instructors. As officials of our worker-and-peasant state, they contribute to the good preparation of the younger generation for the great tasks of the future.

Numerous party friends from the intelligentsia are proving themselves to be reliable reliance partners of the working class and its party through outstanding specialized knowledge and conscious political attitude, through contributions to socialist teamwork in their collectives. They contribute to the accomplishment of the truly great tasks which they face in their fields of creativity as important elements of social progress. They know all about the great promotion effort which their work and the development of their personality benefits from through the policy of the primary mission. They are working hard to open up for these significant areas of our social development all those great possibilities which arise from the status of the social development of our Republic and from the growing collaboration of the states of our socialist community.

The high requirements of the five-year plan in these fields at the same time create high requirements for the political-ideological maturity of those members of our party who are active there. Questions and problems of the development of science, popular education, the public health and social welfare system concern everybody; they touch the lives and the work of every family in our Republic. It is the firm inclusion of our party friends from the scientific-technological, educational, and medical intelligentsia in party work which helps them and us in here likewise doing justice to the social expectations regarding our alliance contribution.

Outstanding initiatives and achievements on the job and in community life after the Ninth SED Party Congress document this: the firm alliance with the leading working class is a decisive source of the successful, state-conscious action of our party friends from the intelligentsia, where ever they may be active. In this way we want to and we will in the future likewise help develop their alliance relationships to the working class in depth through our ideological work.

Dear Party Friends!

Regardless of whether we are dealing with material things or intellectual-cultural things, the important thing for all of us in all of this is to see the ideological requirements. The unity of politics, ideology, economics, and culture remains the foundation and the steady principle of our work. This is why our ideological endeavor is guided equally by the requirements of the primary mission and by the unfolding of socialist democracy as the main direction of the development of our State of workers and peasants. The collaboration of the citizens in the direction of the State and of society in manyfold forms is increasingly becoming an essential characteristic of life under socialism. Our socialist democracy offers all workers a great and living area of liberty. Through a high level of party work, we promote the initiatives of our party members in all sectors and in the most varied functions of community life.

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Strengthening the socialist state is one of the fundamental social tasks. As in the past, our party will continue in the future to make its contribution to that. A strong socialist government is in keeping with the interests of all workers; it is the most important political prerequisite for a policy to the benefit of the people, for the further accomplishment of the primary mission. The socialist state is the main instrument of the working people, led by the working class, in fashioning the developed socialist society. We appreciate and we protect it as that power which for us means participation in the direction of social life, which guarantees us freedom and humaneness, peace and social security. Our party helps its members fill the demanding slogan of participation in planning, collaboration, and participation in government with life through their own activities. Through our political-ideological work we are forging socialist law consciousness through socialist state consciousness.

The ever closer collaboration of all social forces in the National Front with the people's assemblies and their agencies is in keeping with the essence of our socialist democracy. Through political-ideological work with our deputy party friends we are creating the prerequisites for their work as representatives of the working people. With the full force of our party organization we stand by the side of our deputy and successor candidate party friends so that they may be able to discharge this responsibility. In this way we promote the firm anchoring of the work of the people's assemblies in our people's life and in this way we consolidate the close bonds and confidence between citizens and the socialist State.

One important condition for the steady development of socialist democracy, for the planned improvement of working and living conditions, the beautification of cities and communities, and for a many-sided, intellectual-cultural life is the mass-political work of the National Front. It is precisely in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic--our tried and proven socialist popular movement--that we can see how our party concretely and constructively discharges its social coresponsibility for the further fashioning of developed socialist society.

Dear Party Friends!

Making the mass-political work of the committees of the National Front along the lines of the Leipzig Conference of the National Council even more productive means above all orienting collaboration between the committees of the National Front, enterprises, and local people's assemblies toward concrete social goals. This is why we are placing our party work even more in the service of the local plan tasks and projects of the National Front. This is why we are ambitiously developing collaboration with the directorates of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in cities, towns, and residential areas. We promote close contacts with the election district aktifs.

The national economic mass initiatives of our basic units, the activities of our party members in the "Pitch In!" competition we direct primarily toward the implementation of the apartment construction program, the

improvement of working and living conditions and of intellectual-cultural life in residential areas. What can be done here has been demonstrated by party friend Reinhard Scheibe, an electrical engineer at the "Martin Hoop" Hard Coal Mine in Zwickau, chairman of No. 35 Residential Bezirk Committee in Zwickau-City. It is above all due to his initiative that a team effort by the population in the residential section in 1976-1977 yielded M400,000 worth of results in the improvement of living and housing conditions. Within the framework of the Residential Bezirk Committee he organized volunteer construction teams which this year likewise are being used for work on the construction of a 300-square meter department store. The citizens today are justified in their pride in a recreation facility which they themselves renovated in the woods and where they can find relaxation.

Early in March 1977, No. 35 Residential Bezirk Committee was awarded the title "Exemplary Residential Bezirk Committee" by the Bezirk Committee of the National Front.

Party friend Scheibe--who at the same time is the chairman of a residential area association of our party--on the occasion of our party's kreis conference was awarded the title "activist of socialist labor" by the Zwickau City Council. There are many such examples which we could pay tribute to here.

We want to urge all party friends to be militants of the National Front at their posts, to the extent of their possibilities, to the best of their abilities. Understood and practiced by us in this fashion, our mass-political effectiveness in the National Front becomes an indispensable element in the force of attraction and in the social usefulness of the work of our National Democratic Party of Germany. Yes, helping to develop socialist community relations in residential areas and helping to promote patriotic action by the citizens--that has always been and in the future will continue to be the concern of our work within the National Front.

Work within the National Front means being active in terms of alliance policy, means assuming concrete social coresponsibility in every kreis, in every city, where ever our basic units are at work.

Work in the National Front means an exchange of opinions and ideas with the citizens about the problems of our policy in residential areas and apartment house communities.

Work in the National Front means activities in the competition of the cities and communities to improve the living conditions and above all the housing conditions of the citizens. Work in the National Front means strengthening the action readiness of craftsmen and tradesmen for a good and steady supply with repair work and services as well as supply functions.

Work in the National Front means promoting the full multiplicity of intellectual-cultural life in residential areas.

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Work in the National Front, all in all, means the political-moral unity of the working people in action; it is alliance and it is the alliance policy of action.

#### IV. Ideological Work as Main Content of Management Activity to Mobilize the Membership for the Accomplishment of Our Party's Social Tasks

Dear Party Friends!

Party work is above all ideological work. It is the core of all of the party's endeavors. Further improving its quality, enhancing its force of conviction, enabling every member to participate--that is the most important task of our leadership activity. It means directing our ideological work and, in this sense, it also means organizational work.

The focus here is above all on the personality development of our members. Again and again giving them better political-ideological qualifications, so that they may meet the high requirements for the consciousness of socialist citizens in daily occupational and social life--that is the political character of our leadership activity. From the unity of ideology, politics, and organization spring the eternal relationships and the social benefit of our party.

Organizing without any objectives in terms of content would be senseless. No party meeting can be prepared merely by urging everybody to come. Organization means above all the organization of political results on the basis of political convictions. Not just appeals to a sense of duty but rather convictions lead to political action and convictions constitute a durable foundation. They bind the member together with his party; they are an expression of the agreement of his interests with social interest. They help him become active in the full awareness of such unity in the social interest and in his own interest. Through our party work we thus release social driving forces. In this way we help convert social progress into ever new social energies. Thus we maintain constant agreement between the party's internal development and force of attraction, on the one hand, and the demands of society, on the other hand. That is the way of giving maximum effectiveness to the entire party, as a force fashioning the developed socialist society, through the achievements of each party unit.

This purpose of increasing the effectiveness of our leadership work primarily with political-ideological means was the most important conclusion which our Tenth Party Congress drew. Higher achievements in party units can be brought about only through a higher political-ideological level in the activities of all executive committees.

This principle also holds true today. The years since the Tenth Party Congress has taught us this: it was primarily the efforts to improve our party's agitation and propaganda work, our economic and cultural policy activity, which produced party achievements with new dimensions through the way in which party life was enriched in terms of content. At the same time however there was also an effect on the party's further

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organizational consolidation. This kind of interrelationship is also wanted. The political realism of party events and gatherings attracted those who perhaps still stood aloof from them.

Our party has made considerable progress since the Tenth Party Congress. Participation in the monthly membership meeting, as the main form of our party life, today is 1/5 greater than at the time of our Tenth Party Congress. That points up the possibilities of the planned further increase in the results of participation in our party events. Our members voluntarily attend a second monthly party gathering, the study circle. That is a good basis also for cadres election and further cadre qualification.

The party elections in preparation of our 11th Party Congress in the 2,165 basic units, in 25 city bezirk associations, in 216 kreis associations and 15 bezirk associations, gave us executive committees in which younger cadres are represented side by side with seasoned party members. The social-science qualification level has been raised further; 61 percent of our Executive Committee members in city bezirk, kreis, and bezirk associations have a college or technical school education. Half of them have graduated from the Central Party School. The secretariats, which have been newly elected in these associations, and the numerically beefed-up executive committees have enhanced the operational mobility of our leadership bodies. Their decision-making effort is supported by work groups. In our party we now have 16,750 party members who are active in executive committees and secretariats; another 3,700 are active in work groups; 6,700 are doing responsible and time-consuming work as leaders of groups of ten--an effort which deserves high appreciation. We can say that parttime work, as an expression of our internal party democracy, covers a considerably larger circle of our members than at the time of our Tenth Party Congress.

Our work within the National Front has experienced a considerable up-swing. The number of party friends active in committees and work groups could be increased to 17,750. The number of party friends, who do part-time work in cultural facilities, agencies of justice, in PTAs and at educational institutions, in the agencies of CD and defense training or in other social functions is hardly any smaller.

Moreover, 9,400 party friends are working as elected people's representatives, from the community assemblies all the way to the highest national assembly, the People's Chamber of our German Democratic Republic.

Our party's press has a lot to say about the party's influence in terms of mass policy. The number of its daily readers is three times greater than its circulation of one quarter of a million; it is also held in high esteem by many citizens without party affiliation as a reliable political adviser. Our party-owned Publishing House of the Nation celebrated a special anniversary before our 11th Party Congress: it topped the 50-million copy figure in 2,500 book titles published.

All in all: our party is on a good and successful road. An atmosphere of work, confidence, and genuine team spirit prevails in the party. It includes criticism and self-criticism. Party discipline in response to

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central resolutions and the growing individual responsibility of our executive committees in their implementation are the expression of the further strengthening of democratic centralism, of the unity of central leadership and democratic collaboration of the entire party.

The main Committee, the Party Executive Committee and the Secretariat tried fully to gear their resolutions and measures, relating to the implementation of the Tenth Party Congress, toward the political-ideological needs of the party member, to mobilize party life in the basic units for that purpose, and to give the party cadres advanced training. The methods used for this purpose have proved themselves to be most effective; they include above all the central conferences with the kreis secretaries and with the chairmen of the kreis associations, the advanced training courses for the chairmen of basic units lasting several weeks, the central gatherings with the craftsmen and tradesmen party friends, with intellectually and culturally creative people, especially artists, with party friends active in the public or education system, and the propaganda conferences and colloquia. Activity reports to higher executive committees and long-term guidance efforts, such as those of the Secretariat of the main Committee in the Leipzig-City Kreis Association facilitated a faster, better, and above all steady analysis of the ideological situation. They increased the response capability and the information content. They led to the immediate generalization of good experiences and established criteria of leadership work for those party units that were lagging behind.

The party's good development over the past 5 years illustrates for us the great possibilities which our party has. Many reserves remain yet to be tapped. The elimination of the unjustified differentiation between the party units is the big problem of our management activity. Certainly, this problem looks different to us today than it did at the time of the Tenth Party Congress. It is no longer the difference between stagnation and advance but rather the difference in the development tempo which should be gradually eliminated. All bezirk associations without exception today can point to a positive record in attendance development at party events, in terms of membership growth, and in the development of parttime work. But, in spite of all progress, there is still a 10-percent gap between the first and the last in terms of participation in party events. And we still have similar gaps in other fields of our party work and our community activities.

These performance differences are leadership differences. Considering them as such is the first step toward correcting them. We are after all not concerned with statistics, with giving grades for good or less good performance, where the actual numerical result does not even tell us anything about the content. Instead, we are concerned here with making sure that every executive committee member is fully convinced that he could never justify a situation to any member of our party where favorable conditions have been created in many party units but not in his own and where inadequate conditions prevail for the particular member's political qualification when it comes to achieving professionally and socially significant and productive results.

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Differences in the performance level of our leadership bodies are differences in the quality of ideological work with our membership. They take place at the expense of our party friends, they diminish their right to the promotion of their personality through our party.

Dear Party Friends!

Judging by the tasks during the new phase in our society's development, we need a higher quality in ideological work. What is at issue here is nothing less than the effort, with our ideological work, to awaken an understanding for the full content of the strategic goal of creating the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism through the further fashioning of developed socialist society in the GDR. Our ideological work is aimed at promoting the necessary profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes.

A society of classes and strata which are friends with each other, a socialist class society does exist in our German Democratic Republic. Social relationships are alliance relationships. The fundamental development trend of the classes and strata in the developed socialist society is their approach coupled with the simultaneous upward development of the members of the classes and strata.

Upward development and approach are two aspects of one and the same process. Approach and the upward development of the allies take place on the grounds of the ideals of the working class. The allies are also doing valuable things here. Their treasure of experience and tradition, their ability to achieve great social results are included in this approach. It takes place as a reciprocal process, as the kind of give-and-take which is useful to all. Upward development in the classes and strata determines the growing level of the approach, the ever greater maturity of commonality under the leadership of the working class and its party.

In spite of all of the still existing social differences, the essential thing is the thing that unites everybody and that constitutes the foundation for the political-moral unity of our entire working people. It is the ever advancing agreement of the basic interests of the allies with those of the working class. It is the agreement of personal interests with social interests which is decisively promoted by the policy of the primary mission in its unity of economic and social policy and which produces visible effects in terms of political morale.

Agreement of interests is the motive behind the alliance. Agreement of interests is, as far as the working class is concerned, the historical possibility of exercising its power in alliance with the other classes and strata. Interest agreement is the driving force of socialist democracy.

Socialist state consciousness is an expression of such agreement. It is based on the knowledge that the socialist state represents the interest of the entire working people.

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Socialist state consciousness is the sure realization for us that our worker-and-peasant state is a state of peace, a state of social security and shelter, real humanity, democracy, and freedom.

Socialist state consciousness for us is the historical knowledge that our worker-and-peasant state embodies all that is progressive in our people's history. With it we stand firmly on that progressive line of tradition in which is sheltered and implemented the heritage of the revolutionary German Worker Movement and all progressive popular movements. Socialism in the German Democratic Republic is the historical antithesis to the imperialist FRG which is rooted in the reactionary line of tradition and which continues it.

Socialist state consciousness for us is the confirmation of the correctness of our decision, of the social significance of our deed. The worker-and-peasant state is our state. We helped create it. Socialism is our most valuable attainment. The German Democratic Republic is our socialist fatherland.

Socialist state consciousness is our advocacy of the brotherly alliance of the GDR with the Soviet Union, of friendship with all other states of our socialist community. As conscious citizens of our worker-and-peasant state we just as consciously consider ourselves to be members of the community of socialist states; we are proud of belonging to that international political force which brings about progress for mankind and which determines the character of our epoch.

Socialist state consciousness is our knowledge and our certainty that the history of our party is a part of the history of the GDR. It gives us strength and confidence in victory. The awareness of the historical achievements of the working people of the GDR over almost 30 years confirms us in our deeds for socialism today and in the future.

Just as the awareness of history promotes socialist state consciousness, so is socialist state and socialist national consciousness combined, for us National Democrats, in the realization that our socialist state and social system characterizes the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic. What we do for our GDR, we do for our socialist nation. Through our GDR, all of its citizens have implemented the right to social-economic, governmental, and national self-determination. We helped qualitatively alter the foundations, content, and forms of national life, to help bring out the characteristics of the socialist nation which are fashioned by the working class. We are in the process of developing them further all the time.

We have dissociated ourselves from the bourgeois nation which continues to exist in the FRG. Opposing social systems quite lawfully lead to delimitation and the more these social systems develop in terms of their contradictions, the more deeply does this dissociation develop just as lawfully. Here nothing is open and here nothing can be reversed.

Identical social conditions tie us to the Soviet Union and the other socialist brother countries. They prove to be a foundation and driving force of the blossoming of every socialist nation and their mutual approach. We are steering a course toward fashioning the future of the socialist nations in the brotherly alliance. This is quite in keeping with the consistency of our party's viewpoint on the national issue.

Dear Party Friends!

As we understand the content of socialist state consciousness, its tie-in above all with historical and national consciousness, we can see clearly that it is the two basic principles of our party which open up for us the essential content of socialist state consciousness and determine it for us. To the extent that the socialist patriotism and internationalism of the working class is fashioned in the consciousness of our party friends, we are continually taking the step from civic awareness of responsibility to socialist state consciousness.

As we determine socialist state consciousness as the main content of our party's ideological work at our 11th Party Congress, we find that, once again, as always before, the two basic principles leave us in agreement with social progress, its requirement for and demand upon our ideological work. These two basic principles open up for us ever more profound, ever more farreaching insights into the laws of our social development. For us they mean access to the scientific foundations of socialism.

Our party considers it to be its obligation to help our party friends acquire the theoretical fundamentals of the practical erection of socialism and the fashioning of the developed socialist society. Yes, our party is most profoundly interested in that. It works toward that. In its political-ideological work it bases itself on the discoveries of Marxist-Leninist social science.

The fact of being allied with and being the friends of the Marxist-Leninist party of our German Democratic Republic determines our relationship to the ideology of the working class. This is in keeping with our essence as one of the parties which are on friendly terms with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Our National Democratic Party of Germany does not advocate any goals which differ from the leading source of society but it does develop its own motivations and contributes its own experiences and traditions to its effectiveness in society. This is why our party's ideological work is of irreplaceable significance to the consciousness formation of each member, regardless of whether or not some in our ranks are only at the beginning of their road to the ideological ideals of the working class or have already made considerable progress on that road. But nobody in our party has grown out of that process. Every party friend after all is approaching the leading working class which grows in its leadership role and he is thus involved in the process of his own upward development as its ally.

Dear Party Friends!

The quality of our party's ideological work will decide about its effectiveness but that effectiveness must be organized. What our executive committees do for the content and organization of ideological work is expressed in action in the basic units. Our full attention is devoted to their work. That is the best way to care for each and every party member.

Party life is taking shape for every party member in the basic units.

In the basic unit, the party member becomes aware of the party's strength and its policy is explained to him. This is where we come to the political communication effort among friends and this is where political viewpoints are formed and where partisan action is promoted.

In the basic unit, every party friend gets to feel how indispensable the party is for him in the all-around development of his personality; how irreplaceable it is for him if he wants to discharge the professional and social duties of a conscious citizen.

In the basic unit he develops an eye for the social requirement and he does so quite specifically for his sphere, for his residential area. Here he influences the social development of the territory; here he is democratically involved in the implementation of uniform socialist state policy.

In the basic unit, the member gets all information he needs. He gets information about the work of his party unit, about the work of the party friends who are people's representatives and council members, about party members who perform other important social functions, especially in the National Front.

Here he gets a political overview and an orientation for his own social action. Here he also gets appreciation for that.

The party's heart beats in the basic units. The membership assembly is the main form of party life, the resolution-adopting party organ which is binding upon every member. The study circle is the place for the most comprehensive membership training effort. But party life is not confined to those forms. It includes its enrichment through the party press. Yes, we want to utilize a multitude of possibilities. The differentiated events with certain groups of party friends supplement the membership assemblies; they help include even more party friends in party life. Above all however the party's events must be expanded through personal political conversations. They are a matter for the executive committees, specifically, not just those of the basic units. The obligation to maintain such contacts--which we want to have above all also without our artists and scientists, with party friends in responsible, leading positions--cannot be delegated just any old way.

Our party is inconceivable without an atmosphere of party friendship. This is a friendship which does not shy away from frank words and which is full of attention for the opinions, thoughts, and feelings of every party friend; it also has a sixth sense for possible conflicts. Personal conversation is irreplaceable to create such an atmosphere in our party units.

The development of party life in its full wealth and multiplicity demands support from every party sector. This particularly calls for agitation and propaganda work. It must be even more lively, more intellectually stimulating, more understandable, more convincing, and thus again and again action-triggering. That applies also to the party's press. Likewise, our economic and cultural policy work, as economic and cultural propaganda, must become much more effective and must thus be more helpful for the basic units. The important thing is to orient personal-policy work more along the lines of the requirements of the basic units and to undertake the cadre buildup from the basic units according to plan. The same applies to the party's training courses.

The chairmen of the basic units must more effectively be included in the decisions of the kreis and city bezirk executive committees already while those decisions are being prepared. We are not concerned here with burdening the chairmen with further meetings but rather with appreciation for their work and with respect for their office. Every party friend, who tirelessly works for our party, deserves the respect of the entire party. It is the task of the fulltime party apparatus, through an unbureaucratic working style, through guidance on the spot, and through its own example, to help in the execution of the central party resolutions.

Party work is not administrative work, it does not mean that the executive committees must make work for each other. It is work with people, with our party friends. Full devotion to the entire membership--that is the consequence, that is the prerequisite and the constant condition for making our 11th Party Congress the development law for every party unit, for the entire party, for the five years ahead of us. This is the inescapable demand for a leadership activity which is in keeping with the way and the essence of our party, which will produce a response in every member, and which will involve every member in this effort.

Dear Party Friends!

We face great tasks. An agitated and exciting time challenges us. Our social coresponsibility for the further fashioning of developed socialist society is great. We know that we are moving side by side with good and reliable friends under whose leadership we continue to walk the tried and proven way of alliance, of comradely collaboration. We want to give our best and we want to add deeds to our words.

In this way we discharge our responsibility: to ourselves, to our party, to our fatherland, to our socialist German Democratic Republic.

EAST GERMANY

SED SECRETARY NORDEN ADDRESSES NDPD CONGRESS 22 APRIL

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 23/24 Apr 77 pp 3-4

[Speech by Prof Albert Norden, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at 22 April session of the 11th NDPD Congress in Leipzig: "Alliance Policy--A Constant of Our Actions"]

[Text] Dear Delegates and Guests! Dear Friends!

Events of the magnitude of this 11th Congress of the NDPD are among the high points in our Republic's political life. They draw attention from all of our people's social forces which have entered into a firm alliance under the leadership of the party of the working class. And so we address to you, esteemed delegates, the friendly greetings of the SED Central Committee and its secretary general, the chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker. This is at the same time our cordial greetings to all of your members in cities and rural areas. We wish you success in your deliberations, in the certainty that the resolutions of your party congress will strengthen the socialist fatherland and will help consolidate our brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the community of socialist states.

Your party chairman, Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, was able to present a very gladdening review of the work done so far. This is a tremendous result of your political efforts in support of the common socialist cause. Side by side with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, you are doing your alliance-policy duty. This is why the more than 2 million communists in our Republic value you, esteemed friends of the NDPD, as loyal and reliable companions on the road charted by the Eighth and Ninth SED Congress.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany was founded exactly 31 years ago, on 21 April 1946, and the split in the working class was thus healed. That was the prerequisite for enabling us to accomplish a revolutionary social change in our people's history which was made possible by the Soviet Union's heroic victory over Hitler fascism.

Our Policy's Cornerstone

In the SED, our people obtained a uniform revolutionary leadership force. In agreement with the laws of our epoch, based on the generally valid teachings of the Great October Socialist Revolution, it blazed the

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trail for human progress on German soil. The struggle of the German worker movement and other progressive forces of the people, which had lasted one and a quarter century was thus brought to fruition.

After May 1945, the demands of the moment consisted in coping with the immeasurable material wreckage and the intellectual rubble of fascist imperialism. Those who had any concept of history, felt or soon acquired this realization: this involves the solution of fundamental problems of human development. The issue here is the definite elimination of imperialism, the erection of an antifascist-democratic order. This was the only way in which the working class and its allies could be introduced into the struggle for socialism.

The NDPD made an important decision at the time it was founded when it turned its back on imperialism. That decision was emphatically determined by your own experiences during the imperialist war and the establishment of the antifascist-democratic order. The future way by the side of the working class became for you a political and social decision in favor of resolute participation in the national and democratic renewal of our people's way of life.

The features we share in common are not tainted by the limitations inherent in a temporary parliamentary coalition. The way we go together is manifested in the form of a firm alliance and constantly maturing, growing class and friendship relationships. The reactionaries and imperialism and its partisans of all hues and shades from the very beginning predicted that these new relationships would languish and dissolve, collapse and crumble.

That has been the case especially since the world-shaking change that took place in October 1917. But our adversaries were proved wrong with each passing year. We must confirm what Heinrich Homann stated here once again in program terms for your party: the continuity of your party's policy in the process of social advance is and remains anchored in the alliance with and the friendly relationship to the party of the working class and the Soviet Union.

Through your 11th Party Congress, the NDPD once again proves to be an important force which is at work in the great social movement aimed at the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress for the continuing advance of our country.

The Ninth Party Congress entrusted all forces of society with binding tasks for an interval of time covering several five-year periods. The essential meaning of socialism--doing everything for the welfare of the individual, everything for the happiness of the people--is being implemented permanently. As we continue to fashion mature socialism, as we bring out all of its advantages, our alliance, our collaboration is a cornerstone of this policy of the party of the working class. We consider your party to be a close comrade in arms in the fashioning of the developed socialist society. This is the way it was yesterday and that applies without restriction to the future.

Esteemed Friends! We are approaching the 60th anniversary of an event which we are justified in honoring as the main event of our century. The victory of the October Revolution in Russia fundamentally altered the development of all mankind. Socialism revealed its face in the international arena. It and the other forces of peace became the most influential power on earth. The community of our socialist states keeps gaining strength. It marches ahead of mankind as vanguard.

#### Touchstone of Internationalism

We find confirmation in international practice today that no fundamental problem can be solved without the Soviet Union, without socialism, in terms of social progress. The political, economic, and, last but not least, the military weight of the community of socialist states protects all mankind against thermonuclear war. The worldwide liquidation of colonialism, the powerful unfolding of national liberation movements--these are insolubly tied to the existence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states which simultaneously support the social and national liberation struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

Again and again, it is especially we citizens of the German Democratic Republic who made the generally valid experience that the best conditions for our own national development exists when we consistently, in everything we do, choose the strengthening of international socialism as our compass. What the revolutionary German worker movement wrote on its banners since the days of October 1917 is still true: relations with the Soviet people and its CPSU is the touchstone for socialist internationalism. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has always loyally carried out this pledge which was sealed with the blood of countless heroic communists.

Dear Friends! Everything you discuss and decide at this party congress as your contribution to strengthening the developed socialist society at the same time serves the most urgent concern of mankind: the guarantee of a lasting peace. This is to the benefit of further changes in the international balance of power in favor of socialism. This enhances the force and impact of that foreign policy which is aimed at a secure peace and which we consistently and unalterably pursue together with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the community of socialist states.

Significant progress has undoubtedly been made on the way toward detente. The idea of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, which was developed by V. I. Lenin already during the Great October Socialist Revolution, is now prevailing in real life. It is becoming the norm for the fashioning of relations between socialist and capitalist countries, a norm anchored in international law. More and more Europeans and inhabitants of other continents realize this: no issue can be resolved through the Cold War.

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But noticeable progress in the restoration of the international situation alarms the aggressive circles of world imperialism, the arms profiteers, and the right-wing extremist politicians. They see things slipping from their grip. This is why they are boosting their resistance against the continuation and materialization of detente.

#### Who Threatens Whom?

The backward-looking forces are now trying to get maximum mileage out of the tired old lie about the "threat from the East." But from whom do constructive proposals for a worldwide renunciation of a first-strike employment of nuclear weapons come? From whom come the initiatives to end the arms race, to launch concrete measures for arms limitations and disarmament? They come after all from the world of socialism. They were solemnly reaffirmed by the states of the Warsaw Pact in the declaration of their Bucharest Conference in November 1976.

From the NATO camp on the other hand we get entirely different sounds and deeds. One is bound to be extremely worried over the fact that NATO so far has rejected a proposal--which is dictated by well-meaning human interests--to agree upon an all-around renunciation of a first-strike employment of atomic bombs. There they still keep pushing the arms race and the FRG quite significantly is in the lead there. Between 1971 and 1976, the FRG boosted its arms expenditures by 85 percent. This year alone its arms budget comes to DM50 billion.

So, who is threatening whom? We do not threaten anybody militarily. We are working for the multiplication of the people's material and cultural well being, for the ever stronger fashioning of socialism's advantages. If certain reactionary circles, in view of the aggravated crisis of capitalism, interpret this as a threat, then that is their business. It only shows us that they are afraid of peaceful competition. Socialism influences social progress all over the world primarily through the force of its example.

Today, there are two sovereign, independent German states with different social systems. That is the reality which alone guarantees the correct political orientation. History long ago said what it had to say and everyone should be respectful of what it said. That applies all the more, now that a demarcation line has been drawn in terms of international law between the GDR and the FRG, following their separation in social policy terms. The policy of peaceful coexistence now is the only foundation for the further normalization of relations between the two German states.

Quite a few positive results, serving peace and detente, were attained in the past through the initiation of normal relations. Now certain circles in the West assert that there have been "serious stresses" for quite some time. Indeed, it is not at all good for detente when the hardliners from the CDU/CSU in the FRG more and more crassly oppose the treaties that were signed. The essence of those treaties involves respect for borders and for the principle of noninterference in internal affairs. It represents a barrier against detente and coexistence when

one refers to the international boundary of the GDR as a borderline similar to the one between the FRG Federal State of Hesse and Bavaria and if one presumes to speak and act for all Germans. That is contrary to international law and the treaties. One thing must be clear: it takes good will on both sides to develop normal relations. The GDR will continue to be for the development of normal relations with the FRG in terms of peaceful coexistence, especially since those relationships undeniably exert a by no means minor influence on the situation in Europe. It only remains to be desired that common sense and good will might determine political action also as far as those holding political responsibility in Bonn are concerned. This is the only way we can consolidate what has been achieved and this is the only way this can be supplemented through new steps aimed at securing peace.

The drive for so-called human rights also reveals lack of common sense and ill will. The aggressive forces of imperialism want to slander socialist peace policy through that drive. But this demagogic, by force of historical necessity, boomerangs against those who make the useless attempt of picturing the distorted capitalist society as a "hale world" and slandering the rising humane social system of socialism.

The inability of capitalism to come up with a response to the acute political, social, economic, and cultural vital issues of mankind is now revealed quite drastically. Inflation, social insecurity, the confusion in public finance, and intellectual-cultural decay today characterize the bourgeois system. Solidity, steady political, economic, and social growth on the other hand are the firm foundations on which socialism develops. We have an atmosphere of optimism and certainty about the future.

#### Age Old Yearning of Peoples

Human rights and democracy are often spelled out with pretty words in the constitutions of capitalist society; but 20 million unemployed, including many millions of young people, represent a most shocking accusation against the abysmal hostility of the capitalist system toward the individual.

In racist South Africa, three children die of malnutrition every hour. In Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay, murdering tens of thousands of patriots has been elevated to the status of "reason of state."

In the FRG, opinion snooping has hit 800,000 citizens; 3,000 are victims of the unconstitutional hiring ban; 1.2 million citizens are denied the human right to work because their jobs were eliminated as a result of rationalization; 250,000 youngsters cannot get any training. There is permanent discrimination against millions of women in that country. That is the face of ordinary capitalism; that is the million-fold violation of human rights.

Let somebody show us a capitalist country in which the labor unions have the mandate of decisively determining labor legislation. Our new labor code on the other hand will bear the handwriting of the working class of all the working people.

Let somebody show us a capitalist country in which all youngsters get qualified vocational training and a secure job, where mothers and children get the kind of aid from government and society that they get under our socialist conditions.

When socialism moved into Cuba, it eliminated illiteracy, which had dated back from the capitalist past, within a few years. The United States, the most important country in the capitalist world, during its 200-year history eliminated neither poverty nor illiteracy. Today that allegedly freest and richest country of the world has 23 million illiterates and 26 million people who vegetate below the minimum existence level.

If we take a good look at the essence of imperialist propaganda, at the slogans of "human rights and freedom," then we must ask: freedom for whom? Also for the crusaders against socialism and what rights are what individuals supposed to get? Here, freedom of agitation and action is demanded as a right for counterrevolutionaries and for the mortal enemies of socialism. We had to pay a bitter price especially during this century for the fact that imperialism--as a prelude for World War II which was started by the Hitler fascists--reserved itself the freedom of conducting a campaign against the rights of the people and for the imprisonment and assassination of its best progressive representatives in Germany. That must never be repeated.

Humaneness is an age old yearning of peoples. It contains the hope of generations dating back many centuries. What could be more humane than a system which uses social wealth for the benefit of all? What could be more humane than respect for and preservation of the individual's dignity?

We have done away with the capitalist dog-eat-dog law of exploitation of man by man and we have thus paved the way for social justice, mutual aid, and comradely cooperation.

#### Offensive on All Sectors

We have given Germany a new meaning and a new direction by stripping the troublemakers of their power, by stopping their disastrous policy, and by raising the people's true self-determination to the highest maxim.

Humaneness, freedom, and humanity begin where the privileges of the financial oligarchy end. Man with his universal creative force is the main goal of our society. And this main goal is served by the deeds which each and every one accomplishes in the field on which planning and work are done for the individual's welfare.

Honored Friends! At the Fifth Central Committee Plenum--one year after the Ninth SED Party Congress--Comrade Erich Honecker was able to present a positive report for our development in all fields. The main feature of that development is a refreshing offensive on all decisive sectors of our domestic and foreign policies.

As a result of the further working time reductions for shift workers and mothers with two children, which is to take effect as of 1 May, the number of working people, who are putting in 40 hours per week, will go up to 1.1 million persons. For 600,000 two-shift workers, the weekly working hours at the same time are reduced to 42 hours. All of this is being done without any wage cuts. This step was preceded during the first 11 months since the Ninth SED Party Congress by a whole series of other socialized policy measures. There is hardly a family which does not itself get to feel how closely economic progress is intertwined with the implementation of the social-policy program.

The members of the NDPD are struggling with exemplary action readiness also for the further advance of our socialist fatherland. Their efforts, sustained by a high sense of state consciousness, helps shape the joyful and creative atmosphere in our entire land.

The declaration, to the effect that the five-year plan is a fighting program, an alliance-policy test, as far as you are concerned, expresses your party's determination to be a political factor represented by the high level of economic and cultural activities of all your members. It was precisely during the time of preparation for your 11th Party Congress that you again and again made this clear: the benefit deriving from your party's ideological work will be evaluated above all in terms of what your members are ready to do for the all-around strengthening of the GDR on the job and in social life.

The NDPD also views its work with craftsmen and tradesmen against this background. Starting with social requirements, you are assuming a high degree of coresponsibility here for the steady improvement of living conditions.

The SED and our State express great respect for the achievements of craftsmen and tradesmen and promote them in a goal-oriented fashion. The clear resolutions adopted by the Council of Ministers in February of last year, are a part of this continuing effort and should therefore be seriously implemented further.

#### Social Coresponsibility

One year after the government resolution, achievements in the repair and service sector of cooperative and private crafts for the population went up powerfully. This result was achieved to a great degree by the better utilization of performance reserves in the crafts, including the increase in productivity through rationalization and the stepped-up issue of trade licenses. But this progress is not enough. Great differences must be overcome in terms of the degree and level between the kreises, the type of functions performed, and between the city and the rural areas.

Social coresponsibility makes you outline, at this party congress, also the tasks of all party members employed in the construction industry, especially those craftsmen who are concerned with maintenance and repair.

That is correct and important. After all, about 40 percent of all of our apartments were built before 1900. We intend to increase the construction repair output to 135 percent by 1980. The labor productivity growth rate in repair and modernization work is to be doubled compared to 1975. That clearly indicates the magnitude of the tasks.

Construction in our country, especially apartment construction, is inseparably connected with the essential meaning and reality of socialism. This is why housing construction for the workers is the nucleus of our social policy. All members--including those of your party--who are active in this sector must always keep in mind that we have great expectations with regard to the volume, quality, and tempo of their work.

Responsibility toward the working people, commitment to the task of providing shelter for them--these characterize the efforts of all political forces in our country. A decisive expression of this is our fruitful collaboration within the National Front of the German Democratic Republic. Here we combine political-ideological persuasion work with broad, national economic and cultural mass activity which is overshadowed by the ever more fruitfully unfolding and ever broader competition under the title "beautify our cities and communities--pitch in!"

#### High Value of Common Efforts

The high goals which we set ourselves at the 1977 Leipzig Conference of the National Council of the National Front are being properly attained. During the first 3 months of this year, 11,642 apartments were modernized thanks to the manyfold assistance given by the citizens. That comes to 31.3 percent of the "Pitch In!" annual program adopted in Leipzig; 18,226 apartments for senior citizens were renovated. That comes to 26 percent of the target for the entire year. In addition we have 32,000 rooms--amounting to 32 percent--in facilities used in education, public health and social welfare, culture, sports, restaurants, and commerce. Here we can see the great value of common efforts by enterprise collectives and inhabitants of cities and communities. We not only want to keep up with this tempo, we want to speed it up.

We must emphasize this: the effectiveness and fruitfulness of the work of the National Front are guaranteed by all political and social forces who sustain them and who work toward the attainment of our socialist social goals. But we must always keep in mind that not everybody joined our socialist popular movement for the same reason and on the same road. Regardless of the thoughts and feelings that might have persuaded our fellow citizens to adopt our common socialist positions, their way and their decision demand our respect.

#### Honored Friends!

Our alliance policy does not spring from a temporary mood; it is not an accidental, momentary flash of inspiration; it is a constant in our action. You can read that already in the "Communist Manifesto"--that

charter document of the international revolutionary worker movement: "All movements so far have been movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the independent movement of the overwhelming majority in the interest of the overwhelming majority" (1). Marx and Engels wrote that in 1847, that decade of the last century when the history of the modern worker movement began.

The victorious socialist revolutions on our globe constitute demonstrable evidence for the fact that the working class is replacing "the old bourgeois society with its classes and class conflicts" with a qualitatively completely new bond between the working classes and strata of the people "where the free development of the individual is the condition for the free development of everybody" (2).

Unforgettable all over the world is the Paris Commune, the March 1871 Revolution, which for the first time in history placed power in the hands of the working class.

It was an unparalleled event that "the working class was openly recognized as the only class which was still capable of mounting a social initiative; this was recognized even by the vast mass of the Paris middle class, the small merchants, craftsmen, and businessmen, except of course the rich capitalists" (3).

In spite of unfavorable circumstances, in spite of the isolation of the Paris Commune from the rest of France, in spite of its short duration, in spite of the support given by the German reactionaries to the ruling classes in France, it was able to develop the kind of policy which revealed its true essence as a national and worker government.

To the middle class--which had been politically oppressed and economically ruined by the empire which had just been overthrown--went an appeal to rally around the flag of the Commune because the latter was trying to represent not only the interests of the working class but also those "of the petty bourgeoisie, essentially the entire middle class" (4).

It called out to the peasants: "Our victory is your hope!" (5). With that it connected the goal of lifting the tremendous burden of debt resting on the peasants and protecting them against the expropriation of their little plots of land by capitalist competition.

And it offered the men of science the prospect of changing "from the allies of capital to the free representatives of the spirit" because science "can play its true role only in the Republic of Labor" (6).

The Paris Commune, the glorious harbinger of a new society, fell under the blows of combined French and German military reaction. But its flag was picked up in the victorious battles of the workers and peasants during the Great October of 1917.

For the German worker movement, the alliance policy was always a decisive part of the social revolutionary process. During the Weimar Republic, the Communist Party, with its "program for national and social liberation," turned against the policy of the most reactionary and most

aggressive forces of German finance capital and indicated to the entire people a real way out of misery, poverty, and oppression. Beyond the industrial proletariat, the idea was to lead "especially the masses of farm laborers, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the civil servants and clerical employees, the small merchants, the small tradesmen, craftsmen, the impoverished masses of small peasants into battle against fascism and its exploiting, big-capitalist policy."

#### Service to the Socialist Fatherland

Concepts on a new German democratic republic took on clear shape with the 1939 Bern Conference of the KPD. In closest union with all peace-loving and freedom-loving Germans, the united working class, combined with the peasants, the middle classes, and the intelligentsia, was to determine the country's destiny.

And we stuck to that. The alliance of all antifascists, after the smashing of Hitler fascism, was decisive for the progressive solution of all political, economic, and social problems. This alliance with the friendly parties united in the National Front and the mass organizations proved itself throughout the years past. It brought us good fruit: socialism, the rise to those heights from which we get a view to the coming decades of peaceful, meaningful socialist life pledged to the ideals of friendship among peoples. This alliance is indispensable if we want to continue to fashion the developed socialist society, with everybody and for everybody.

Dear Party Congress Delegates!

Broad is the spectrum of duties which we want to carry out in service to our socialist fatherland.

No task will seem minor to us. After all, we consider everything to be the building block for a better world which we have enough courage and confidence to shape.

The important thing here is socialism, its persistently growing strength, its triumph, and therefore also the happiness and welfare of the people. Any unfolding of strength is justified by that and is the most beautiful reward for all our plans which we will continue to carry out together for the benefit of the people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels, "Werke" (M/E/W), Volume 4, page 473.
2. Ibid., p 482.
3. Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France," M/E/W, Vol. 17, p 344.
4. Ibid., p 549.
5. Ibid., p 344.
6. Ibid., p 554.

EAST GERMANY

HOMANN CLOSES CONGRESS, REPORTS NDPD ORGAN ELECTIONS

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 25 Apr 77 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, NDPD Executive Committee Chairman, at closing session of 11th NDPD Congress on 22 April in Leipzig: "The Chairman's Closing Remarks at the 11th Congress"]

[Text] Dear Party Friends!

The Main Committee was constituted during its first session. In keeping with our party's by-laws, the party chairman, the Presidium of the Main Committee, and the Secretariat of the Main Committee were elected.

It is my pleasure to announce the following to you:

The members of the Main Committee unanimously elected Heinrich Homann to be chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany.

Dear Party Friends!

The Main Committee has selected the following to be members of its Presidium:

Wolfgang Bein, Karl Blau, Dr Lothar Bolz, honorary party chairman, Hans Breitbarth, Dr Siegfried Dallmann, Dr Horst Doell, Manfred Flegel, Friedhelm Foerster, Guenter Hartmann, Heinrich Homann, Horst Kreter, Erhard Lonscher, Alexander Mallickh, Heinrich Meier, Friedrich Pfaffenbach, Ilse Rodenberg, Wolfgang Roesser, Gustav Siemon, Rosel Walther.

The Main Committee Secretariat was selected as follows:

Heinrich Homann, Secretariat chief; Dr Siegfried Dallmann, Main Committee secretary; Manfred Flegel, member, Main Committee Secretariat; Guenter Hartmann, Main Committee secretary; Horst Kreter, member, Main Committee Secretariat; Erhard Lonscher, Main Committee secretary; Wolfgang Roesser, Main Committee secretary; Rosel Walther, Main Committee secretary.

It is quite in keeping with the atmosphere of political-ideological solidarity at our 11th Party Congress that all decisions of the Main Committee were adopted unanimously.

We, the members of the Main Committee, its Presidium and Secretariat, are aware of this: your confidence is our responsibility; responsibility for the further good way, for the further, goal-conscious and fruitful effort of our National Democratic Party of Germany, as outlined for us by our 11th Party Congress. We want to prove ourselves worthy of the great obligation which we undertook through this election. We will do our best so that our National Democratic Party of Germany--as we resolved and announced at this 11th Party Congress--will, during the new phase of social development in our German Democratic Republic, prove itself as a reliable alliance partner of the leading working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

Dear Party Friends!

A few minutes ago we received a telegram from the SED Central Committee secretary general and GDR State Council chairman, our dear friend Erich Honecker. Here is its text:

"Dear colleague Prof Dr Heinrich Homann!

"Many thanks for the greetings transmitted to me by the delegates of your so successful party congress.

"In the name of the SED Central Committee and in my own name I want to congratulate you most cordially on your reelection as chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany. We congratulate all members of the newly elected Main Committee with equal cordiality.

"We are happy that the deliberations and resolutions of your 11th Party Congress once again expressed firm confidence in the policy of the SED, thus continuing the way of the NDPD. The SED Central Committee and I personally are sure that the members of your party will in the future make their contribution to the further fashioning of the developed socialist society together with all forces united in the GDR National Front.

"Against the background of mankind's jubilee, the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we are together accomplishing the great and beautiful tasks of strengthening socialism, securing peace, and promoting our people's welfare and happiness.

"I wish you personally, Dear Colleague Homann and all members of the NDPD, with whom we are united by close bonds of friendship, successful work, good health, and creative force.

"With socialist greetings,

Erich Honecker,

"Secretary General, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany."

Dear Party Friends!

We are now approaching the end of the 11th Congress of our National Democratic Party of Germany--that party congress which discussed and adopted our party's contribution to the further fashioning of the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic.

This means that all party friends and all party units have been assigned great tasks and worthwhile goals. We can feel our party's strength. And so we get down to work, so we go back to our party as agitators and propagandists for the resolution of our 11th Party Congress. We do this, ready for action and with the confidence that springs from our party congress.

No matter where we may be, in membership assemblies or study circles, in personal political talks or in our differentiated work, we want to bear witness to this as delegates of the 11th Party Congress.

Carrying out its resolutions, acting in keeping with its essence and its style--that demands new, and even better deeds for the all-around strengthening of socialism, for the implementation of the future-determining goals of the Ninth SED Party Congress.

Our party congress demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the National Democratic Party of Germany. And we are thus at the same time, in our own way, bearing witness to the greater, political-moral unity of our Republic's entire people. Yes, during these days here in Leipzig, we impressively experienced the effects of SED policy upon our activity in the alliance. And we obtained impressive confirmation of this:

Collaboration between the SED and our party has become even closer since the Ninth Party Congress on all levels and is the tried and proven practice of our party work.

We have some days of hard work and success behind us now. We address our thanks, our cordial thanks, to all those who contributed so decisively to the success of our 11th Party Congress.

The many visible and invisible helpers, especially the party friends at the Leipzig Bezirk Association and the Leipzig-City Kreis Association proved here what party solidarity, union with our NDPD can mean in everyday life and what results it can produce.

We also want to thank the Leipzig Bezirk Directorate and City Directorate of the SED and the government agencies for the effective help they gave us toward the success of our party congress. The entire city of Leipzig was a good host to us, the delegates.

Dear Party Friends!

We can be optimistic because our work takes place against the background of the world-changing ideas and ideals of socialism. We are approaching

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the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the principal event of our century. We too want to help shape this jubilee as the most important social event of this year. This is in keeping with our party's essence and it corresponds to our party congress' pledge to the brotherly bond with the Soviet Union and firm friendship with all states of the socialist community.

Anybody who has any concept of the history of contemporary events will not only want to experience the progress of things, the victorious campaign of socialism. He would also like to be at the side of those and he would like to belong to those who, through their work and their struggle, give our time its appearance and make history for the benefit of the individual and mankind. In and with our Republic, he will strengthen socialism and thus help preserve peace. As member of our NDPD, he will do his alliance-policy duty, which means: to help attain great goals in the new phase of our country's social development through conscientious and good work on the job, through action readiness in our party and in community life. In this way we are carrying out the resolutions and the pledge of the 11th party Congress of our NDPD.

We National Democrats know of no more beautiful and better goal than, side by side with and under the direction of the working class and its party, to do everything so that the developed socialist society will continue to be fashioned successfully.

Socialism has become the essence and fulfillment of our party members' life.

The advantages and achievements of socialism have become indispensable values for us National Democrats in our life and endeavor. Our party has worked toward that. It gives us and it will always give us decisive things on this road.

Dear Party Friends!

We could feel it in the greetings and good wishes from SED Central Committee Secretary General, Erich Honecker, in the appearance of Politburo member Prof Albert Norden, in the attention and participation of the party of the working class, in its appreciation of our work: alliance and alliance policy were, are, and remain essential aspects of its exemplary struggle, its advance on the road of social progress.

The implementation of the leading role of the working class, the work and example of the members of the SED--these are the things which again and again enable us to recognize new criteria of our responsibility.

Dear Party Friends!

We have the way and the goal of our NDPD in mind when we say:

How good and how beautiful it is that our party exists. How good and how beautiful it is to be a member of our party.

The party congress showed how irreplaceable our party is for the development of our membership's personality. It points up the moral effect of political organization.

And thus, at this moment, we can say this for ourselves and all members of our party:

If we were not already members of our NDPD then we would want to be such members.

It is a good thing for us that we are friends with the SED and that we are allied with socialism.

It is a good thing for us that we are citizens of the GDR and that we can struggle in it for the all-around strengthening of socialism, in strong solidarity with the Soviet Union and with the other states of the socialist community, toward the reliable securing of peace. We want to give our best--and we, the delegates, have so resolved and so it shall be.

Therefore:

Everything for our socialist fatherland, the German Democratic Republic!

The 11th Party Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany is hereby closed.

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EAST GERMANY

NDPD PUBLISHES 11TH CONGRESS RESOLUTION

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 26 Apr 77 pp 1-2

["Resolution of the 11th NDPD Congress"]

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[Text] The 11th Party Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany fully approves the party's goals and tasks--justified in the Main Committee Report--regarding the further fashioning of the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. It includes our agreement with the foreign policy of our GDR which is consistently aimed at securing peace, at detente and disarmament. The party congress confirms the analysis of party work results since the Tenth Party Congress and thanks all party friends for their achievements in connection with the implementation of our party's resolutions. We now have good foundations for tackling new tasks. The 11th Party Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany hereby resolves the following.

I.

1. The goal and content of the NDPD's social coresponsibility are determined by agreement with the strategic orientation of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Steadily continuing its way and its tradition, based on political-moral development and the maturity of its members' civic sense of responsibility, the NDPD will prove to be the reliable alliance partner of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, also during the new phase of the German Democratic Republic's social development, in the course of the implementation of its policy of socialism and peace.

Our party subscribes to the trend-setting resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which encompass the totality of our society's development. They are binding with regard to the determination of the tasks and action of our party which is allied with socialism.

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The members of our NDPD are ready to perform new deeds, to help "continue to fashion the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus to create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism."

2. The program foundation of the NDPD's policy and the first criterion for the partisanship of its members is and remains the alliance and friendship pledge to the working class and its party and to the Soviet Union, as formulated in the two essential principles of the party.

The party congress thus states this:

The members of the NDPD without reservation pledged themselves to the lawfully growing leadership role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany--at all times and everywhere. The power of the working class, our socialist state of workers and peasants, is the core of all values and attainments of socialism in our country. Patriotism and internationalism of the working class are the core and consequence of our bonds with the socialist fatherland, the German Democratic Republic.

The working class is the political and social main force of our State. It is the carrier of political power. It is closely connected with socialist property. It produces most of the material wealth of society as a whole. Its position in social production, its leadership through the Marxist-Leninist party enable it to lead the struggle of all workers for social progress. The implementation of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in all walks of social life and on an ever higher step, the socialist state of workers and peasants, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are and remain the decisive prerequisite for the implementation of the interest of all workers, for the brotherly bonds with the Soviet Union, for the respected place in the family of socialist states, and for active solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

This is why the Eleventh Party Congress states:

The members of the NDPD without reservation pledge themselves to unalterable friendship, to the brotherly alliance of our German Democratic Republic with the Soviet Union. This brotherly bond is and remains the source of strength and the foundation for the development of the socialist German Democratic Republic as a firm component of the community of socialist states. Socialist patriotism and internationalism are the core and consequence of our bonds with the Soviet Union and with the other states of the socialist community, with all progressive forces throughout the world.

The brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union is among the greatest attainments of the policy and development of our GDR. It is based on identical social-economic and political foundations, on the uniform ideology of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class of our countries, on the common nature of the goals and actions of our peoples. The Soviet Union is the main force of the community of socialist states; its peoples bear the brunt in the reliable defense of socialism. The Soviet Union is and remains a pioneer in human progress; its experiences arising from the socialist revolution and during the construction of socialism prove to be generally valid for fashioning the socialist society. Friendship and brotherly relations with the USSR were and are the living law of our Republic's social development. This is why the attitude of our party members toward the Soviet Union is and remains the touchstone for the genuineness and depth of the bonds with our socialist fatherland and with socialism in general.

3. The essential content of the ideological work of our NDPD is the development, promotion, and in-depth advancement of our members' socialist state consciousness. For our party, this is the main way for developing the insights of its members into the laws of social development, for providing further access to the scientific foundations and value concepts of socialism, and for supporting the approach of the classes and strata on the foundation of the ideals of the working class.

Insight into society's laws of motion releases our members for independent action toward the common goal and enables them to make decisions and take sides expertly. Our party is developing motivations of social action which correspond to the very own consciousness level of its members and makes their experiences and traditions socially effective in support of socialism. The essence of our party, which is characterized by the two basic principles, and the independence of its alliance-policy endeavor belong together. From them springs the specific aspect which our party must contribute to society as a whole, to the all-around strengthening of the GDR and the discharge of its international obligations.

## II.

1. In the 60th year after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the event of the century, truth is more obvious than ever before: mankind needs peace and socialism for its own advancement and for the implementation of its basic rights. As part of the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union, as an inseparable part of the community of socialist states, our Republic irrevocably belongs to that world where, in the interest of the dignity and welfare of the individual, the ideas and ideals of Great October have assumed living shape thanks to the implementation of the historical mission and the political power of the working class.

2. In recent years, the brotherly alliance between the GDR and the USSR has taken on a new quality which is anchored in the 7 October 1975 Friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance treaty and in the socialist constitution of the GDR. Collaboration with the Soviet Union has become closer, more intensive, more manyfold, and more fruitful in all areas of our life.

Socialist economic integration is the decisive foundation for the all-around strengthening and increasing approach of the states of our socialist community. The unity and solidarity of the community of socialist states today have a steady foundation. They are growing successfully in the political and military organization of the Warsaw Pact.

The GDR's international activities will in the future also be focused on the consolidation of the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and friendly bonds with all socialist countries because they are the basic conditions for our Republic's international prestige and influence, its successful participation in the international struggle for security and detente. It is the objective of socialist foreign policy to create the most favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism/communism. Our NDPD supports the GDR foreign policy which is coordinated within the community of socialist states and which is aimed at peace, detente, international security, and worldwide disarmament; it also serves social progress and is characterized by anti-imperialist solidarity.

3. Socialism became the determining and moving force behind fundamental changes in international politics. Its considerable power and strength increase forced a change away from the Cold War to detente. A historically new world situation has arisen. The profound understanding of the qualitatively new features of the international situation, knowledge about the world-changing power of socialism--these are of decisive importance to the ideological efforts of our party aimed at the further promotion of the partisan attitude of our membership.

The policy of the socialist states, which is aimed at security and detente, is in the interest of all the peoples of Europe. There is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. Regardless of imperialist interference maneuvers and counterattacks, the GDR will continue to do everything for peace, as well as for the consolidation and expansion of detente. Imperialism's essence has not changed and its antisocialist goals are unaltered. In the course of the tough class conflict with the most aggressive imperialist forces, the important thing is politically to develop and geographically to extend the process of detente. But above all we are concerned with its supplementation in the military sphere by means of an armament ban and disarmament. The discontinuation of the arms race and disarmament are becoming the most important and urgent tasks of the present. In this sense we fully support the proposals of the socialist countries, especially those of the Bucharest Conference of the Warsaw Pact's political Advisory Committee.

We resolutely come out against all attempts to violate the European treaties and to falsify their content. The FRG's attitude toward the treaties and the obligations resulting from them increasingly prove to be the key question in relations between the GDR and the FRG. We consistently reached all revanchist claims and attacks, as well as any violation of treaties that have been signed. We stand with the policy of peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems and we thus advocate the implementation of the results of the All-European Conference on security and cooperation as a whole.

4. The sharp contrast between socialism's social superiority and imperialism's historical obsolescence is becoming increasingly obvious. All of imperialism's domestic and foreign contradictions have become worse and the general crisis of capitalism has been combined with the cyclical crisis of capitalism into extreme and lasting economic weakness. In this critical situation, fear of effects of real socialism drives the ruling imperialist circles into anti-Soviet and antisocialist attacks. Imperialism believes that stepped-up anticomunism, anti-Sovietism, and nationalism are tools with which to counter the victorious advance of socialism's ideas and its growing force of attraction. Thus the ideological dispute between the two systems is stepped up lawfully.

We will step up our political vigilance; through our work we want to help maintain the high level of socialism's defense capability, which is in keeping with the vital interests of the citizens of our country and those of all peoples. The essential meaning of socialism is the welfare of the working class and all working people, the happiness of the people, freedom for the full unfolding of the personality, as well as peace and security. This is what we advocate. For that we make our contribution to the all-around strengthening of the GDR and the community of socialist states.

### III.

1. High demands, arising from the fashioning of the developed socialist society and the international class conflict, create the criterion for our party's social coresponsibility. A great process of social, material, and intellectual advancement and profound social change is taking place in the GDR. The fundamental task in building up the developed socialist society is to develop all spheres of community life according to plan and on a high level. The advantages and driving forces of socialism must be further developed; its great possibilities for the further unfolding of social relations and socialist personalities must be brought to bear fully. From these requirements our party derives its tasks, especially in the economic-policy and cultural-policy areas. This at the same time determines our contribution to the mass-political effectiveness of the National Front of the GDR.

We are mobilizing our members for conscious social collaboration. This is the main way for deriving great social benefit from our own experiences, our independent political-ideological action within the alliance toward the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress. Our party's activity is aimed primarily at the promotion of socialist ways of thinking and behavior in our members in the course of the accomplishment of the national economic tasks and the development of a lively social life with its manyfold possibilities and in its full breadth.

Our ideological endeavor is aimed at producing political-moral effects and practical benefits; and so the discharge of our party's social co-responsibility begins with the promotion of personality development in our party friends. Our goal is to enable our members to prove themselves as socialist citizens on the job and in community life and to help them be good experts on the job and exemplary citizens of our State at the same time. Thus will our party do justice to its role as political-ideological factor in triggering economic and intellectual-cultural and other social activities in the course of the further fashioning of the developed socialist society.

2. Our party work is guided by the political force of the primary mission in terms of its unity of economic and social policy. The visible interconnection between economic results and social-policy achievements, which everyone can feel, proves this: good work under socialism pays off for society and for each individual. The goal of production under socialism is the satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the working people, the guarantee of social security and the securing of peace. Thus, the 1976-1980 five-year plan demands and promotes the action readiness of all of our party's members and constitutes a fighting program for us as we prove ourselves in terms of alliance policy. The five-year plan's goals and tasks establish the criterion for our party's economic policy propaganda. Developing our party members' knowledge on economic goals and interrelationships as well as their social effects, further spreading good knowledge on the laws of the socialist national economy, helping to fashion socialist attitude toward labor as the nucleus of the socialist way of life--that is the point of main effort in our work in the economic-policy field and that is significant to our party's entire political-ideological activity.

The more the fashioning of the developed socialist society advances, the closer become the reciprocal relationships between the most varied aspects of this profound process and the growth of labor productivity. Its increase is the source for the satisfaction of the growing material

and intellectual-cultural needs of the working people. The intensification of social production, especially by means of scientific-technological progress, is and remains the best way to do that. This is why it demands of us intensive ideological work with the entire membership.

3. The requirements of the further fashioning of the developed socialist society, especially the primary mission, the expectations which society connects with our party in our view determine the standing and framework of our political-ideological work with craftsmen and tradesmen. That was, is, and remains a special main point in our party work. We consider this to be a task which demands the full strength of our entire party organization. It is a demand addressed to the entire alliance-policy endeavor of our party, aimed at the further development of our people's political-moral unity.

Along with the further fashioning of developed socialist society there is an increase in the requirements in terms of volume and quality in repair and service functions and direct supply operations for the population. It is characteristic of the essence of the developed socialist society that it offers great possibilities for craftsmen and tradesmen to use their knowledge and abilities in the corresponding typical artisan and trade forms of their work, either in the producer cooperative or as individually working craftsmen, as commission merchants or restaurant operators, or as self-employed tradesmen. The existence and the determining role of state property, the role of socialist production conditions are the social prerequisites for that.

Our government's performance-promoting measures for the crafts and trades correspond to social requirements and fully agree with our party's proposals and ideas. The implementation of these measures and resolutions demands our political contribution in every bezirk and in every kreis.

The NDPD will continue to be a good and reliable political advisor to the craftsmen and tradesmen, as it has been in the past.

4. Our ideological endeavors in the cultural-policy field constitute an indispensable component of party work toward the accomplishment of the primary mission. All walks of life in our socialist society are permeated by socialist culture. Our ideological work in the cultural-policy field promotes the membership's partisan political attitude. It helps develop social relationships which are imbued with the ideals of the working class and socialist morality. This is connected with high requirements, especially practical requirements for our work aimed at promoting intellectual-cultural life in the residential areas. Here lies the main field of cultural-political work with all members. Our

basic units have a high degree of responsibility for making sure that our party friends will participate in and contribute to a manyfold and interesting community life full of culture, last but not least, in the apartment house communities.

The high requirements of the five-year plan in the fields of science and education, public health and social welfare are paralleled by great demands upon our party members' political-ideological maturity. These questions concern everybody, they touch the lives and work of every family in our Republic. It is the firm inclusion of our party friends from the scientific-technological, educational, and medical intellegent-sia in party work which helps them and us in here likewise doing justice to society's expectations in terms of our contribution to the alliance.

5. Work aimed at our Republic's political, economic, and cultural development, as far as our NDPD is concerned, includes support for all measures which serve to strengthen the socialist government. The socialist State is the main instrument of the working people, led by the working class and its party, in fashioning the developed socialist society; the further in-depth development of socialist democracy is the main direction of its growth.

Socialist democracy offers all working people a vast and living area of freedom. Our party helps its members in giving life to the demanding slogan of participation in planning, collaboration, and participation in governing through their own activities. By means of our political-ideological work, we help develop socialist law consciousness along with socialist state consciousness.

Ever close collaboration of all social forces in the National Front with the people's assemblies and their agencies is in keeping with our socialist democracy's essence. We stand by the side of our deputy and successor candidate party friends with the full might of our party organization so that they may discharge their responsibility as the people's elected representatives.

One important condition for the steady development of socialist democracy, for the planned improvement of working and living conditions, for the beautification of cities and communities, and for a many-sided intellectual-cultural life is the National Front's mass-political effort. It is precisely in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic--our tried and proven socialist popular movement--that we can see how our party concretely and constructively discharges its social co-responsibility in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society.

Making the mass-political work of the National Front's committees even more successful along the lines of the Leipzig Conference of the National Council means above all aiming collaboration between committees of the National Front, enterprises, and local people's assemblies at specific

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social goals. This is why we place our party work even more in the service of the National Front's local planning tasks and projects. This is why we are effectively developing cooperation with the SED directorates in cities, towns, and residential areas.

We guide the national economic mass initiatives of our basic units and the activities of our party members in the "Pitch In!" competition primarily at the implementation of the apartment construction program, the improvement of working and living conditions, and intellectual-cultural life in residential areas. We want to enable all party friends in political-ideological terms to be militants of the National Front in their place, to the best of their opportunities and abilities.

#### IV.

1. Our party's goals and tasks in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society, as well as the social demands upon our party work constitute the point of departure for the determination of the content and methods of our leadership activity. Party work is above all ideological work. It is the core of all of our party's endeavors. The most important task of our leadership activity is further to improve its quality, to strengthen its force of conviction, and to enable every party member to share in party work. Our ideological work revolves primarily around the propagation of the fundamental tasks and interrelationships of our Republic's political, economic, and cultural growth, the laws of social development, the profound understanding of the advantages, achievements, driving forces, and fighting conditions of socialism. In this way we are developing the realization of the full content of the strategic goal for the new phase of society's development in our country. The issue is this:

To make the character of our epoch of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism and its laws the point of departure for the discussion and resolution of all questions of politics, economics, and culture and to understand our Republic's history as a part of the worldwide revolutionary process;

To help consolidate the alliance of the social and political forces of our country under the leadership of the working class and its party and thus the political-moral unity of the working people;

Further to develop the bonds of our party friends with our socialist State of workers and peasants and the feeling of belonging to the brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states;

To sharpen our members' grasp of interrelated factors in society and to make their own action understandable as a contribution to the accomplishment of the primary mission in terms of its unity of economic and social policy;

To consolidate the partisan attitude of our members in the class conflict with imperialism and to enable them offensively to counter anti-communist and anti-Sovietism, nationalism and revanchism and to utilize

our party's discoveries and the experiences of their own political way toward that end.

These are the main points when it comes to letting socialist state consciousness mature from our members' civic sense of responsibility--a state consciousness whose nucleus consists of thinking and acting in keeping with the unity of socialism, patriotism, and internationalism.

2. What executive committees do for the content and organization of ideological work is expressed in the basic units. Our full attention is devoted to their work. The requirements of our leadership activity are mainly determined by that.

The important thing is to involve all members in the party life of the basic units. That calls for improving the quality and extending the range of the party's ideological work. Agitation and propaganda work must address and reach the entire membership; it must be even more alive, more intellectually stimulating, more understandable and convincing and it must thus be again and again action-triggering.

The important thing is to establish a closer connection between party work and the national economic requirements and territorial needs. Our economic and cultural policy work must be made much more effective as economic and cultural propaganda. It should above all be more helpful to the basic units.

The important thing is to increase the political-moral and ideological influence on the personality development of the party members through the goal-oriented utilization of all possibilities of differentiated work. The differentiated events staged with certain groups of party friends supplement the membership meetings and promote participation in them. Personal political talks also serve that purpose.

The important thing is to increase our effectiveness within the National Front, to increase our party's ideological range among the strata allied with the working class, and to promote the effective contribution of our party units to the development of social life in the residential areas.

For the sake of accomplishing these tasks, the important thing is to tie the content and method of party work even more closely together, to develop organizational work as a means to improve the quality of ideological work. This also calls for increased orientation by the requirements of the basic units in terms of personnel policy.

Thus the 11th Party Congress determines the goal and the way of the NDPD in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The Socialist German Democratic Republic is our fatherland. Our loyalty, our love, and our action belong to it.

Together with the political and social forces of the GDR, our NDPD has helped create that which today is a secure foundation for the further social advancement of our Republic. This is the fulfillment of what we committed ourselves to over a period of 3 decades side by side

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with the working class and its party. We pledge ourselves to the essence and the way of the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic. The right to social-economic, state, and national self-determination has been implemented through our Republic. We are heading toward the blossoming of the socialist nation in the GDR, toward the approach among and the development of the common future of the socialist nations.

The 11th Party Congress declares:

The members of the NDPD will do their best and will keep their word in terms of the all-around strengthening of our German Democratic Republic through deeds!

Thus we discharge our responsibility: to ourselves, to our party, to our fatherland, to the socialist German Democratic Republic!

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END